Washington Place (Governor's House)
Beretania and Miller Streets
Honolulu
Honolulu County
Hawaii

HABS No. HI-6

HABS
HI,
2-HONLU,
28-

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Historic American Buildings Survey
National Park Service
Washington, D. C. 20240

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28-

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

WASHINGTON PLACE (GOVERNOR'S HOUSE) HABS No. HI-6

ADDRESS: Beretania and Miller Streets, Honolulu, Hawaii

OWNER: State of Hawaii

OCCUPANT: Governor of Hawaii and family

USE: Residence

ARCHITECTURAL AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The original central portion, built circa 1847, was a good example of the classical revival mansion with the two-level portico and central stairhall. It is historically one of Hawaii's most significant existing buildings since it was the home of the Dominis family; later, Queen Liliuokalani resided here, and for the past forty-four years it has been the home of the governors of the Territory and State of Hawaii.

HISTORICAL INFORMATION

Land Ownership: [1]

Captain John Dominis was an Italian-American ship captain and merchant who had been trading in the Pacific since the 1820's. He had a house on Fort Street, and apparently this was the dwelling advertised for lease or sale in the Polynesian of December 1840. The Washington Place premises on Beretania Street, according to Land Commission Award #850, were sold to Dominis by British Consul Richard Charlton for $600.00, deed dated December 26, 1840. The records dealing with the Charlton land claim (a source of irritation between Hawaii and Britain for several years) suggest

that the present Washington Place premises were part of a grant from the chiefs to Charlton in 1825-26 to provide a permanent location for a British Consulate. Charlton claimed this, and other lands, as his personal property.

After the settlement of the various claims in Charlton's favor, a portion of this "consulate" property, next door to Washington Place, was sold at auction in 1844, to Dominis, who promptly re-sold most of it to G. P. Judd, agent for the Hawaiian Government. This second lot was also known at the time as the "Beretania" premises. Out of this transaction, Dominis retained a small parcel directly back of his original purchase; this is the portion covered in LCA # 4888.

In 1849 the Land Commission awarded both parcels to Dominis, but a fee simple title, by way of a Royal Patent, was not possible. The original grant to Charlton had been for 299 years, rent and tax free, at the end of which time the property and all improvements were to revert to the Hawaiian Government. In 1889, Captain Dominis' son, John Owen Dominis, petitioned the Hawaiian Government to be allowed to purchase the Government's reversionary interest in the property. This was allowed, and on December 12, 1889, the lease was sold to him for $250, the upset price, on condition that the property would no longer be considered tax free. With title perfected, Governor Dominis obtained Royal Patent Grant #3462, dated January 20, 1890, for the lands covered in LCA's #850 and #4888, an area of "Acres 1, Fathoms 708".

In the 1940's, additional property along the Miller-Beretania Streets was acquired by the Territory to square off the property. This area is the old "Beretania" premises, a part of which Captain Dominis had owned briefly in 1844. Miller Street was named for British Consul William Miller, who had a house somewhere on the "Beretania" premises in the 1840's. In March 1845, Miller had written to Dominis, then in Manila, accepting the latter's offer to extend the lease on "your House", that is, Dominis's house leased to Miller, dated the 1st of April 1844, for an additional three years, a total of five years from date. Miller also asked to be given first refusal should Dominis wish to sell the premises. It is not clear if this house was the one Dominis advertised in 1840, or a structure somewhere in the vicinity of the present Washington Place which Miller later owned.

Construction of Washington Place: 2

Although most secondary sources suggest work was started in 1841 or 1842, exactly when construction began on Washington Place is not yet clear. The Charlton land claim was not "settled" until 1842, and agitation on it continued to 1847. While it is known that Mrs. Dominis was in Honolulu in April 1837, she and son John Owen were in Boston in July 1842, and did not return to Honolulu until late that year.

Records do show that in January 1844, Dominis paid Israel Wright for constructing a "gate on the Charlton estate"; in June, I. S. Hart was paid for a gate post and some work; and in December of the same year, John Sweetman was paid for "pulling down an old wall and rebuilding the same," also, plastering and white-washing 42 feet of wall separating Capt. Dominis' and General Miller's premises. In September 1844, Captain Dominis wrote to Boston ordering wood (including lath and shingles), paint, oil, nails, assorted locks and fastenings, window blinds, window and door frames, a front door (his supplier reported this should "make quite a show" in Honolulu), and window glass. This order was sent out in April 1845, and was received in Honolulu in November of the same year. In December of 1845, Andrew Auld was paid for work on a pump box (he had done some pump work for Dominis in 1841) location not known.

Early in 1846, a contract was drawn up for Israel H. Wright to paint all woodwork of the dwelling house erected next to the Beretania premises, and to do the glazing, bedding the glass in putty, for the sum of $150. The entire project was to be under the direction of Isaac S. Hart, Master Carpenter. Isaac Hart regularly signed notes authorizing the bearer to be paid for work done.

In May of 1846, a contract was drawn whereby Daniel Jenner (who signed himself Danielli Ganez) was to dig a cellar for a dwelling house, 4 feet deep; was to build 28 square columns, pyrisal (sic) and capitol with wall 12 feet high; to pave the lower verandah with tiles; to plaster all inside above and below including upper verandah; to arch all doors and windows; and to place short columns between the pillars. Pay was to be

weekly, according to work completed, for a total of $750. "Extras" crept in as work continued and Jenner was not finished until late in 1847.

A third contract, dated June 1846, arranged for William Sumner (who signed himself Sumneyr) to provide on the premises by September 1 next, 1000 coral stones, 30" by 20", trimmed for the mason to lay; line as was needed; and such additional coral blocks as may be required to complete the building "to be erected on the premises." There is also a receipt dated October 1846 for moving two loads of furniture, as well as assorted receipts for work done by various artisans, and several bills for materials. These are all dated between 1844 and 1847. The Polynesian for May 22, 1847 noted among the buildings of importance in Honolulu that season the "elegant and costly mansion of Captain Dominis, nearly completed."

We are unable to locate any reference to the coral foundations being laid in 1841 or 1842, the date frequently given in secondary reports, nor can we locate any source for the oft-claimed finishing date of early 1846. The dating on the bills may reflect Captain Dominis' trading missions, whereby everything was paid off when he returned with new funds, or it may reflect nothing more involved than the simple fact that the building was constructed between 1844 and 1847.

As yet, there is no certain identification of the designer or builder of the house. Honolulu had no official architects at that time, but a list of "Foreigners in Honolulu" published by the Polynesian in January 1847, lists some 34 house carpenters, 12 masons, 1 brickmaker, 5 painters and mentions several native mechanics also. Isaac Hart, carpenter, and Israel Wright, painter, both naturalized Hawaiians, are listed. Their naturalization may be the source of the oft-repeated statement that the house was built by "native" workers. There is no mention of Jenner or Ganez. Isaac Adams, born in 1817, second son of Alexander Adams (long time pilot for the port of Honolulu) and often listed in secondary sources as being the architect-builder of Washington Place, is not listed. The Polynesian for April 1848, does announce his appointment as poundmaster for Honokahua, Maui.[3]

The story is that Captain Doninis embarked on several trading voyages while the house was building, using the profits to pay off accumulated debts and resume operations. How many trips Captain Dominis made while the house was under construction is not yet clear. It is known that on August 5, 1846, the American brig Wm. Neilson, Captain Weston, sailed from Honolulu for Manila and China, never to be heard from again. The Wm. Neilson was due back by Christmas and Captain Dominis was supposed to be out purchasing Chinese-made furniture for his house, as well as making a last general trading voyage. The brig was listed as "due last month" in March of 1847, and by May was presumed lost. Intelligance from China dated June 1847, reported her unheard of at that end. Captain Weston had commanded the packet ship Congaree out of Honolulu to Boston in November 1844, when she and the Globe, Captain Doane, engaged in a speed trial home. The Congaree left Boston for Honolulu in April of 1845, commanded now by Doane, carrying the supplies ordered by Dominis for his new home.[4]

Commissioner Ten Eyck and the Naming of Washington Place:[5]

The Wm. Neilson carried as passengers, besides Captain Dominis, George Brown and his son. Brown was the Ex-U. S. Commissioner, a person as cordially loathed in Honolulu for his troublemaking tendencies as was the Britisher Charlton. Brown was replaced by Anthony Ten Eyck, who arrived in Honolulu on June 9, 1846 with his wife and child. Mrs. Ten Eyck died in November of the same year. In November 1847, Foreign Minister Wyllie wrote privately to Ten Eyck asking if it were true, as rumored, that Ten Eyck was to board with Mrs. Dominis. Apparently, late in 1847, Ten Eyck took up residence in the new Dominis mansion, either boarding with Mrs. Dominis and her son John, or renting the place temporarily vacated by the bereaved widow Dominis. On February 22, 1848, U. S. Commissioner Ten Eyck wrote Wyllie that he had "christened the elegant mansion of Mrs. Dominis by the name of Washington Place" and asked that it be permitted to retain that name "in commemoration of the Great and Good Founder of American Independence." Wyllie presented the matter to the King, Kamehameha III, who concurred and the matter was formally announced in the "By Authority" column of the government newspaper Polynesian in February 26, 1848.

Later History of Washington Place:

Until the 1890's no descriptions of Washington Place are known except as may be gleaned from visitors. A letter to John O. Dominis in August 1848 from an officer of the U.S. Preble, [6] asked for measurements of the house, height of the drawing room upstairs and the generic names of the garden plants. He also wanted information on its naming, saying, "I think you told me that Mr. Ten Eyck had something to do with it." Apparently the name caught on quickly. Constance Gordon-Cummings visited in 1883 and was taken to Washington Place by Governor Dominis. She noted that the house was "alike the home of his mother and of Princess Liliuokalani, his wife. The latter occupied her own suite of apartments." [7]

Liliukalani,[8] writing in 1898, referred frequently to her home in Palama, to a cottage on the grounds of Washington Place which she shared with her husband, and to the fact that Mrs. Captain Dominis had not approved of the marriage of her son to a Hawaiian chiefess and did not always hide the fact that Washington Place was her home. It is likely that Liliuokalani preferred to live away from Washington Place as much as was possible.

A note in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser for December 15, 1886, says, "This morning the Royal Hawaiian Band will play at the residence of Mrs. Dominis, Washington Place. On Thursday it will do duty at the residence of H.R.H. Princess Liliuokalani, Palama, where a reception and dance will be given." The Band also serenaded Mrs. Dominis regularly on her birthday. Mrs. Mary Dominis died on April 25, 1889, and the premises went to her son, John Owen Dominis, Governor of Oahu. Governor Dominis died in 1891, only a few months after Liliuokalani had succeeded her brother, Kalakaua, as Hawaii's monarch.

The first detailed description of Washington Place is in a newspaper article of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser for March 9, 1895. At that time Liliuokalani was confined to Iolani Palace on charges of encouraging the recent attempt to overthrow the Provisional Government (which had deposed her in 1893) and restore the monarchy. Washington Place was under armed guard, but vacant. This account describes the house as in good condition, comparing favorably with any in Honolulu.

Entering from Beretania Street, the visitor was in a large hallway, with a staircase leading to the upper floor. The staircase was constructed of koa wood, with a light and airy balustrade and top rail. On the left of the hallway were two large rooms, the first a sitting room, the second the bedroom of the Queen. On the other side of the hallway was the main parlor or reception room, the music room and the dining room. In the rear of the dining room were the pantries and kitchens, fitted with all modern conveniences. From the kitchen was a stairway to the wine cellar in the basement, a brick compartment accessible only via the kitchen. Upstairs, the hallway was a duplicate of the one below. On the left were the two large rooms used by Governor and Mrs. Dominis as sitting room and bedroom, the furnishings of the latter being transferred to the back left room downstairs after the death of the Governor. Across the hall were two other large rooms. All the furniture was of native manufacture (meaning made in Hawaii, but not necessarily by native Hawaiians), except that in the main drawing room.

Among the outbuildings mentioned was the two-room cottage the late Governor had used as his private den or office, one room of which contained his large collection of old-fashioned guns, pistols and cutlasses, and his collection of pipes and walking-canes. It is possible that the wine cellar referred to is the cellar Daniel Jenner contracted to build in 1846. The two-room cottage has already been mentioned as a retreat of the Governor and Liliuokalani, and she remarks in her history that this collection of ancient guns was claimed as a cache of weapons her followers were to use in the uprising. She also remarked that during the occupation of 1895, Washington Place had been ransacked for incriminating papers and materials, including the cellar where they presumably hoped to unearth an arsenal of firearms and ammunition. "Here they undermined the foundations to such a degree as to endanger the whole structure, but nothing rewarded their search."

Liliuokalani continued to occupy Washington Place until her death November 11, 1917, receiving there the honors due a Queen. One of her heirs, Prince Kalananianaole, suggested that Washington Place be purchased by the Territory for a Governor's Mansion. While the matter was being debated, Territorial Governor McCarthy

leased the premises from her estate and moved into the house in October 1918. The next year the Legislature arranged to purchase Washington Place; in 1921 the legal questions had been settled and the Territory acquired the property at condemnation for $55,000.

In 1922 the Territory began major repairs to the termite-ridden structure. The process reduced the building to a shell of coral blocks and mortar. Outside, a port cochere was built following the line of the original structure. On the Waikiki side a new ballroom was added, glassed in on three sides and furnished for use as a lounge or reception room as well as a dance floor. This was later called the glassed-in lanai and has been added to since then. In the rear, a complete new official dining room breakfast room (or family dining room), kitchen and pantries were added. The dining room was glassed in 2 sides, looking out on the back garden. Bathroom and ballroom closets were installed at this time. Such a complete job was done that it was felt only minor repairs would be necessary for some time to come. The kitchen, however, needed additional work in 1926, and in 1934 the lanai and dining room were repaired. Only minor repairs were possible during World War II, but the 1950's saw additions to the lanai area, as well as constant replacement of termite-damaged lumber.

In 1963 a new kitchen was constructed. Inside, a family room was developed upstairs by removing a wall put up to provide extra bedrooms, and the guest room, master-bedroom and den were redone. Seepage and termites were causing wallpaper and outside plaster to peel, and these were also repaired. In 1965 the roof was repaired, along with additional internal improvements. [10]

Furnishings: [11]

During the 1922 major repairs, much of the old furniture was found to be badly damaged by termites. Some was salvaged through special repairs, but most was thrown out. As the Executive Mansion, the furnishings of Washington Place, except the personal possessions of its occupants, belong to the State Government. The Queen's Room on the first floor contains the most complete collection of Liliuokalani furnishings, much of it gathered from various sources over the years. A few other pieces grace the public rooms. Also, available for State occasions, is what remains of the heavy, ornate silver service sent to Kamehameha III by Louis Napoleon of France.

Grounds: 12

The original grounds of Washington Place were said to have been planted by Mrs. Captain Dominis as the first private garden in Honolulu, carefully watered until the yard was a handsome, cool retreat. Certainly by 1848 the garden was sufficiently interesting for a visitor to ask for a list of the plants in the yard. Just when the roadside fence was first installed is not clear. In 1926 a contract was let to light the grounds, including ornamental iron lamp posts around the driveway. Concrete gate posts with concrete curbing between them were constructed along the Beretania Street side of the grounds at the same time. In early 1941, there was some agitation in the newspapers over the proposed removal of some trees in Washington Place yard to allow the widening of Beretania Street. When the work was finally done in 1944, all but one tamarind tree were spared by simply curving the curbing where necessary. The fence and gate at the entrance were moved back at the same time. The expansion of the grounds was delayed until 1948, when a new garage and servants quarters were built on the additional land. In May of 1948, a four foot ornamental iron fence was constructed around Washington Place, replacing the barbed wire barricade (probably dating from World War II) that the fire department considered a hazard. The garden area received a major overhaul in 1963 with the aid of a community group.

Washington Place today continues to serve as the Governor's Mansion, and is currently the oldest continuously occupied residence in Honolulu. It is also a memorial to Hawaii's last monarch, Queen Liliuokalani; a plaque commemorating her most famous musical composition, "Aloha Oe," was unveiled in 1929. 1946 was chosen as the centennial year for Washington Place, and appropriate celebrations were planned, including tours of the residence. Traditionally, Washington Place holds an Open House each New Years, when the general public may come to visit the Governor and view his home.

Occupants:

The following people have owned or occupied Washington Place:

Mrs. Mary Dominis, from its completion in 1846 or 1847 until her death in 1889

Governor John Owen Dominis, 1889 until his death in 1891
Queen Liliuokalani (Lydia Dominis), 1891 until her death in 1917
Governor Charles J. McCarthy, Leasee, 1918-1921

As the official home of the Governors of Hawaii:

Wallace R. Farrington, 1922-1929
Lawrence M. Judd, 1929-1934
Joseph B. Poindexter, 1934-1942
Ingram M. Stainback, 1942-1951
Oren E. Long, 1951-1953
Samuel W. King, 1953-1957
William F. Quinn, 1957-1962
John A. Burns, 1962-

NOTES - HISTORICAL INFORMATION

1. AH-Land Commission Awards #850, #4888; Royal Patent Grant #3462; testimony from Mrs. Captain Dominis to the Land Commission.
   AH-Charlton Land Claims. Testimony and Supplements, 1845, 1846 and 1847.
   AH-Int. Dept/Ltr Bk 39 p. 435 (1889, Aug 14) Hassinger to Alexander; Int. Dept/ Land/1889, Aug 13; into Dept/ Land/ 1889, Aug 14 Alexander to Hassinger; Haw Gazette 1889, Dec 17 p. 7. The Article in the PCA for March 9, 1895 says Dominis paid $255 for the lease.
   AH-Private Coll/ ms93/ Dominis-Accounts, 1842-47.

2. AH-Private Coll/M-93/ J.O. Dominis-Corr.
   AH-Private Coll/M-93 Dominis-Accounts, W.P.

3. Isaac Adams is first mentioned as the architect-builder in a newspaper article in the PCA for March 9, 1895 (by which time the only Dominis living was Liliu). Adams, this says, "though only a common mechanic, had the brains of an architect, and his work is in existance to show it, not only in Washington Place, but in others that were erected shortly afterward." There is no indication where or what these other houses erected by Adams may be. It is likely that the name was pulled from this article and re-used in the Advertizer articles of 1912 Aug. 25, and 1922 March 12.

4. Friend 1846 Aug 15 p. 126; 1847 March 1, 1847 May 15, 1847 Aug 12; Polynesian 1847 May 22.
AH-Private Coll/M-93/Dominis-Accounts, W.P.

5. Polynesian 1846 June 27, 1846 July 11, 1846 Nov 7.
AH-FO&EX/ 1847 Nov 16 Wyllie to Ten Eyck; 1848 Feb 21, 22 Wyllie to Ten Eyck; 1848 Feb 22 Ten Eyck to Wyllie.

The letter of Nov. 1847 from Wyllie to Ten Eyck is the only primary source reference to TenEyck actually living at Washington Place.

6. AH-Private Coll/m-93/ J. O. Dominis - 1848 Dec 6.

7. Quoted in Friend 1883 August, p. 68.

8. Liliuokalani. Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen. Boston; Lee & Shepard. 1898. p. 409.
PCA 1889 April 26, p. 3.

9. Picturesque Honolulu. Hawaiian Gazette. 1907 p. 26.
PCA 1918 Sept 18, 1918 Oct. 9, 1919 Feb 6, 1921 May 12.
Legislative Publication. 1919. House Document #55, Washington Place.

10. PCA 1922 March 12, 1922 April 23, 1923 August 19.
Star-Bulletin 1934 March 17, 1942 August 24;
Adv. 1946 May 18, 1948 Dec. 19;
Paradise of the Pacific 1952 Feb p. 13;
Star-Bulletin 1963 may 15 p. 19.

11. Star-Bulletin 1934 March 17.
AH-Liliuokalani Trust Records.

12. Reports, Superintendent of Public Works (esp. 1926).
Star-Bulletin 1941 Feb 27 p. 8.
Adv. 1944 July 15, 1946 Oct 5 p. 4, 1948 May 13 p. 13;
Star-Bulletin 1948 May 12 p. 19, 1949 May 6, 1948 June 22, 1963 May 15 p. 19.

Prepared by,

Frances Jackson
State Archives
Honolulu, Hawaii

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION

The central original portion, 44'-6" by 61'-3" in size, has been altered with many wings, additions and interior changes since 1921. Descriptions below apply to the original section unless otherwise noted.

EXTERIOR:

Foundations - Cellar walls and foundations are of coral stone set in lime-sand mortar.

First Floor Wall Construction - Walls are coral stone faced with cement mortar lined to simulate ashlar stone work.

Second Floor Wall Construction - Wood frame, six inches in thickness, faced with exterior $5\frac{1}{2}$" siding and interior plastered.

Verandahs (Lanais) - On the first floor level, the square piers are masonry, faced with cement mortar; the floor is concrete.

On the second floor level, circular wood Tuscan columns are used. There is a three-foot wood railing with thin square spindles. The flooring is of wood.

Entrance - The front doorway is an impressive design somewhat in the manner of the familiar fan-window - with sidelights. The three and one-half foot door is of recent design, but the leaded glass and carved spindrels apparently are original.

Windows - Windows (French doors), first and second floors, are eight-light glazing above with panels below. Seven-inch plain facing is topped with moulded trim.

Roof - Hipped roof with a raised flat deck covers the center portion; it is covered with wood shingles. A classical cornice extends out two feet. The lania covered terrace and porte-cochere are flat roofed, covered with built-up composition roofing. Both added - not original.

INTERIOR

First Floor Plan - Entering the front doorway there is a spacious

combined area of the Reception Room Music Room, Hawaiian Exhibit Room and Stairhall. Massive pilasters are the result of recent remodelling. Personal accounts indicate that earlier there were three separate rooms and a long central stairhall.

To the left of the stairway is the bedroom of Queen Liliuokalani still furnished in the manner prior to her death in 1917.

Bathrooms have been modernized.

Stairway - A natural finished handrail with a newel post at the landing and a spiral terminal at the first floor.

Flooring - Wood flooring throughout; uniformly colored gray rugs on wall-to-wall carpeting throughout the first floor.

Wall and Ceiling Finish - In the three major first floor rooms, the walls are papered above a three-foot high painted wood wainscot.

The walls of the stairhall are painted plaster above the wood wainscot.

All ceilings are painted plaster.

Doorways and Doors - Few of the original interior doors remain; these are five-paneled, 3'-0" by 7'-3" in size.

Trim - Door and window facings are plain, usually without moulds. At the ceiling, on the first floor, there is a six-inch moulded cove.

Second Floor Plan - The stair lands in a 13' by 28' upper hall with access to a sitting room and three bedrooms with baths.

Portions of the verandah have been screened.

Additions and Modifications - Apparently there were few changes in the original central house prior to 1922; personal accounts indicate that there was a bathroom adjacent to the Queen's bedroom on the first floor (probably installed in the latter half of the nineteenth century); a one-story kitchen wing, porch and servants' toilet had been added to the rear.

In 1922, major additions were made. These included the glassed-in Lanai, the porte-cochere and the rear one-story wing with Dining Room and Kitchen. Family bedrooms were added to the second-story of this wing, later. In 1954, the large Covered Terrace was constructed and in 1959, the second-story TV-room was built above the glassed-in Lanai. An elevator and the metal fire-escape were added in 1963.

Some wood beams, siding and trim have been replaced, and there is evident need for further replacement of termite-infested material.

SITE

The original tract as owned by the Dominis family and Queen Liliuokalani comprised about 1.46 acres. The Territory of Hawaii acquired additional property to Miller Street, making a total of about 3.1 acres. The Beretania Street and Miller Street sides and a portion of the rear line are enclosed with a wrought iron fence set on a concrete base. The northwest side has a chain-link fence.

Outlying structures include garage, laundry, servants' quarters, and tool house. A loop drive of asphalt paving enters from Beretania Street. Paved service drives to the rear connect with Miller Street. Major walks are paved with brick. The grounds are planted with an interesting variety of trees, shrubs and flowers.

Prepared by,

Melvin M. Rotsch

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Supervisory Architect, HABS
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August 1966

APPROVED: A. Lewis Koue DATE: 6/8/67

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ADDENDUM TO:
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HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

WASHINGTON PLACE

This report is an addendum to the sixteen data pages previously transmitted to the Library of Congress.

Location: 320 South Beretania Street, Honolulu, on the island of O'ahu, Hawai'i. Now in the heart of downtown Honolulu, the property consists of approximately three acres and is bounded by Beretania Street to the south (Makai, meaning towards the sea), Punchbowl Street to the east (Diamond Head or Waikīkī), Alakea Street to the west ('Ewa, a place name west of Honolulu, used as a directional term), and South Vineyard Street to the north (Mauka, translated as towards the mountains). Immediately to the 'Ewa side of Washington Place is St. Andrew's Cathedral.

Occupant & Use: Since 1921, the territory and later state of Hawai'i has owned Washington Place and, until 2002, the house served as the governor's official residence. At that time modern accommodations for the governor were completed and the historic dwelling known as Washington Place became a museum. Washington Place was designated as a National Historic Landmark in 2007.

Significance: Washington Place, built between 1841 and 1847, is an eclectic mix of Greek Revival and indigenous tropical architectural components. Since its construction, Washington Place has held a prominent position in Hawai'i, one that continues to today. First it was the home of an enterprising merchant trader Captain John Dominis, then to Queen Lili'uokalani, and finally to the Territorial and State governors. It received its name, Washington Place, in February of 1848.

The Beretania Street[1] house built for Captain John Dominis in the 1840s was the self-expression of his status within a local community that was international in character as well as political, commercial, and social in purpose. The New England sea captain traveled the world over and from his Honolulu base was a leading participant in the ever-

[1] Beretania (lit. Britain) Street is thought to have drawn its name from the British Consul General's residence and office named "Beretania Cottage" by General William Miller and possibly also from the settlement he established as his country estate, "Little Britain," i.e., the pathway extending between the two sites. The house was commonly known as "Beretania" by Miller's predecessor, Richard Charlton. Miller moved a hospital for British subjects and seamen known as Little Greenwich in Pauoa Valley to the compound he named "Little Britain" on the Waikīkī plains, which he styled as his country residence and retreat. This cluster of buildings is shown in a ca. 1851 painting of the plains (an area of central Honolulu extending from Alapa'i Street to Waikīkī today) looking to Diamond Head. Miller's property was at Pawa'a and fronted along present-day King Street and one boundary wall ran along what is now Sheridan Street. It also has been written that Beretania Street took its name from Miller's office, which he called Beretania Cottage and which was located on the tract next door to Washington Place. David W. Forbes, *Encounters with Paradise: Views of Hawaii and its People, 1778-1941* (Honolulu Academy of Arts, 1992), 136-37; M.B.T. Paske-Smith, *Early British Consuls in Hawaii* (reprint, 1936; *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1936), 17, 23. The major streets were given names in 1850.

growing China trade. Dominis also was engaged in shipping ventures to the California and Oregon coasts and he dealt with Atlantic-based business factors. The dwelling he had constructed in Honolulu was a manifestation of the myriad of influences jostling for attention in Hawai'i and for that of the Hawaiian *Ali'i Nui*.[2] Honolulu, the dusty plain, was favored by westerners as a harbor and it was developed as a trade center for whaling ships. Dominis chose to build there around the same time Kamehameha III moved the Island's capital to Honolulu from Lahaina, on Maui.[3]

Erected on a parcel granted to him as a result of the British Consul Richard Charlton's land-lease awarded by a deed thought (at one time) to be forged and back-dated to the 1820s, Dominis's house was adjacent to the British Consul's residence. Charlton's successor, William Miller, also lived next door and his is the name associated with that parcel today.[4] The Dominis house had a view to the water, but was removed from the waterfront and wharves and watering holes of sailors. It was built under the direction of fellow American émigré Isaac Hart, a man who also completed a house for the royal Governor of O'ahu, Kekūanāo'a in 1844, that Kamehameha III subsequently appropriated and later was named 'Iolani Palace.[5] Supplies, such as the window glass,

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[2] The A*li'i Nui* were the Native Hawaiian ruling class of high chiefs. "In the Hawaiian way of thinking, all directives in society emanate from the *Akua*, who on earth are represented by the *Ali'i Nui*, those gods visible to human beings. The role of the *Ali'i Nui*, as mediators between the divine and human, was to placate and manipulate those more dangerous and unseen *Akua* whose powers regulated the earth, and all the awesome forces of nature... From this standpoint, *Ali'i Nui* were the protectors of the *maka'ainana*, sheltering them from terrible unseen forces..." *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, Lilikala Kame'e1eleihiwa, 26.

[3] Lahaina was the capital of the Hawaiian Kingdom from 1820 until 1845.

[4] Wm Miller, Honolulu, Captain John Dominis, care of H.B.M Consul, Manilla, 17 March 1845, Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841-47, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 102). Miller wrote to Dominis to confirm a verbal agreement that extended his lease of Dominis's house of 10 April 1844 for three years beyond the original two-year contract. He also asked for a right of first refusal (or "a preference") if Dominis should decide to sell. Paske-Smith wrote that Dominis bought Charlton's house (Charlton returned in 1844 and left Hawai'i for good in 1846) "over Miller's head" but that the property was then sold to Miller who improved it. See p. 17. Dominis, however, entered into a contract with William Sumner in June of 1846 for building a structure of coral stones (the stones were specified as measuring 30 x 20) on the Captain's property adjacent to his known as Beretania. Captain John Dominis Accounts, 1841-47, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 102). The Charlton Land Claim records indicate that Charlton considered the consulate property – where he lived – as his personal property. Charlton won the settlements arising over allegations his deeds were inadequate in 1843, and over subsequent allegations of forgery made in 1844 (resolved 1846), selling part of the "Beretania premises" to Dominis at an auction in 1844. Dominis resold the parcel to Gerrit P. Judd, who acted as an agent of the Hawaiian government in the transaction; Dominis kept a small portion at the back of the lot for himself. This was Land Commission Award 4888. On Miller's death, the property passed to his niece who rented it out. Illustrations of Miller's house include Emmert's lithograph, plate 2, which was reproduced in the *Saga of the Sandwich Islands*, 211. See, "Honolulu in 1853," *Hawaiian Annual* (1914-17), 87-88.

[5] Gerrit P. Judd's wife Laura Fish Judd describes the "...new palace. The building is of coral, and contains a double drawing- room and two other rooms divided by a hall." Laura Fish Judd, *Honolulu: Sketches of the Life Social, Political, and Religious, in the Hawaiian Islands from 1828 to 1861* (reprint, Honolulu

front door, and wood for Dominis's residence were ordered from Boston.[6] Additional materials for the Dominis house were obtained from the northwest coast of America, including Douglas fir, redwood, and California cedar. The house was raised by Native Hawaiians, *kanaka*, under Hart's supervision.[7]

The resulting structure is in keeping with the building traditions of town houses found in other tropical islands, such as those in the Caribbean and in Singapore. It is also in step with the aesthetic sensibilities of Anglo-American consumers caught up in the classical revivals as they moved to establish streetscapes in cities and landscapes out of fields and woods. After the American Revolution, conscious identification with ancient Greece's

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Star-Bulletin, 1928), 102. Chester Lyman attended a church service at the palace one Sunday evening. He described it as such, "The services were held in the South room of the palace. It is a large double room with folding doors, very high, plainly finished, with Chinese matting on the floor, 4 or 5 plain haircloth settees, chairs, mahogany center table &c &c. English prints in frames, & two portraits (one of the king) adorn the plain white walls." Chester S. Lyman, *Around the Horn to the Sandwich Islands and California, 1845-1850*, edited by Frederick J. Teggart (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924), 165. Lyman's description of the south room sounds like Washington Place, at least in terms of the Waikīkī parlors and doors that rolled open and closed between the parlors and cross hall on the first floor. Regarding the building of the present palace, Gwenfread Allen, *Hawai'i's 'Iolani Palace and Its Kings and Queen* (Honolulu: Aloha Graphics & Sales, 1978).

[6] Lumber ordered by Dominis for the house was "to be delivered at Honolulu … free of duty to C. Brewer & Co." This shipment included 2 (5x12) 48' long sills, 2 (5x12) 44' sills, 2 (5x12, 6x5) beams 44' long, (3x12, 2x12) floor joists, (6x5) plates 44' and 48' long, (6x3) joists, (5x6) plates, (5x3) rafters 24' to 34' in length, 8 (8x8) corner posts, 60 (4x4) studs 12'6" long, (3x4, 6x4) joists 12'6" in length for partition, 20 (12x2) planks 24' long, plus boards for the roof and floors. Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841-47, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, folder 87). This document was not dated. However, the front door, knobs, locks, blind fastenings, and (window) glass were shipped out in April of 1845 on the *Congaree*. Dominis had ordered them by letter dated the previous September.

[7] This sort of prefab house construction (erected on-site by trained artisans and by native workers or those of African descent if talking about the Caribbean) was described by J. Daniel Pezzoni in a presentation to VAF in Charleston, SC, in 1994; the title of his paper was "The New England Prefab House Trade with the Caribbean Islands and Littoral, 1650-1860." See specifically William Chapman, "Irreconcilable Differences: Urban Residences in the Danish West Indies, 1700-1900," *Winterthur Portfolio* 30, nos. 2-3 (Summer 1995): 155-157, 159, and note 36. Also, not long after the completion of Washington Place, A.H. Fayerweather mentioned to John Dominis in a letter that "Every thing goes on as usual. There are a great many of the little Houses from Sydney being put up here, and lumber is quite cheap." From this description it can be inferred that some of the prefab dwellings came from points west as well as from the United States. A.H. Fayerweather, Honolulu, to John O. Dominis, San Francisco, 3 June 1850, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 106). Other examples were recorded in journals of people visiting or living in the islands. One, Captain Jacobus Boelen, wrote in 1828 of Governor John Adams's dwelling – at least where Adams received him – that it was "built of wood in the North American fashion; the whole frame had been transported from the continent to Kairooa." Similarly Laura Fish Judd talks of her house in 1847 as the culmination of two years of materials gathering, when supplies were available and when they had the money. Judd wrote, "The doors, floors, and gates were made in Copenhagen and sent out for sale, and … purchased them at auction for much less than we could get them made. The windows, glazed, and blinds already painted were sent out from Boston." *A Merchant's Perspective: Captain Jacobus Boelen's Narrative of his Visit to Hawaii in 1828*, translated by Frank J.A. Broeze (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1988), 35; Judd, 129.

democracy and exposure to archaeologically correct models led to a shift away from Roman and Renaissance interpretations to a more-academically precise Grecian revival. William Strickland's Second Bank of the United States (1819) is credited with ushering in the style; afterwards, aided by pattern books, the Doric temple marched westward and southward as the face of banks, government buildings, schools, and houses. The rebuilding of Washington, D.C., after the War of 1812 and the rebuilding of Natchez, Mississippi, after the 1840 tornado enabled the Greek Revival to flourish in municipal and domestic settings, to cite just two examples.

The builder's choice of materials is both Greek-inspired and vernacular. Stone, a decidedly Greek choice, was common as a ground-floor fabric in tropical settings. Wood often was used above the stone because the combination helped structures withstand the tremors associated with earthquakes. The wood in the Beretania Street house, as originally constructed, was a mix of native koa and of imported woods such as Douglas fir and redwood from the northwest coast of the United States, cedar from California, and longleaf pine from the Boston area. Inside, with its imported hardware and furnishings and well-appointed finishes like the wallpaper[8] and gilding, the house was Anglo-American in flavor. It followed the central hall floor plan, with rooms arranged two deep, and held to a tight symmetry of three bays by five in elevation. Mitigating this transplanted taste for the American interpretation of the Greek Revival style and for American-preferred central hall floor plans were the more vernacular components of the house, such as the hipped roof and wraparound verandah or lānai that helped keep the house cool as well as the use of indigenous coral stone and wood in construction.[9]

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[8] The wallpaper was paid for in August of 1847; it cost close to $70 and several different patterns were ordered as well as two separate requests for "bordering." The major manufacturing centers in the U.S. for wallpaper at that time were Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, though some were produced in Hartford as well. The pattern numbers appear to be those connected with a book of samples, but the only surviving pattern book with numbers is from Jeremiah Bumstead's business and that book is today held in a private collection in Boston. Other possibilities are that the papers came from France. Christopher Ohrstrom, Adelphia Paper Hangings, to Virginia B. Price, 13 December 2007; Susan Shames, Decorative Arts Librarian, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, to Virginia B. Price, 11 December 2007; Willie Graham, Curator of Architecture, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, to Virginia B. Price, 12 December 2007. While elegant, wallpaper could be problematic. Laura Fish Judd bemoaned the condition of her new house in 1847, writing "I have a woolen carpet, and walls papered in our parlor, which I fancied, when completed, would remind me of one in a far-off land. But, alas for my fancied picture! The damp from the coral stones, of which the walls are made, has defaced and spoiled the pretty paper, and it must all come off." Judd, 129.

[9] The central hall and cross hall would have encouraged cross-ventilation and air circulation; the tall ceiling heights of the interior rooms and the cavernous attic space beneath the hipped roof also let the hot, tropical air rise. The lānai provided shaded cover at the perimeter and further shielded the main block of the dwelling from the heat. Architectural forms responded to climatic conditions, here in Washington Place and elsewhere in the tropics, lending a certain continuity of expression to structures erected in those areas as different peoples encountered similar living conditions.

As the house shifted from the home of an affluent sea captain to that of his widow Mary Dominis,[10] their son John O. Dominis[11] and his wife of royal blood named Lydia Kamaka'eha Pākī (later Queen Lili'uokalani),[12] it developed more Creole architectural features. These include the multiple points of entry from the lānais, double doors, an exterior stair leading from the mauka lānai, and the gradual enclosure of the lānais to meet increasing spatial needs on the interior. The use of a basement elevated the ground floor. Raised foundations are typically seen in Creole architectural examples, although the height of the raise off the ground varies, and also are endemic to classical structures with their traditions of the *piano nobile* living space.

Neither purely Greek nor French (or Spanish) Creole in architectural precedent, the dwelling on Beretania Street was – and is still – a cultural synthesis shaped by competing interests and allegiances. The name, Washington Place, suggested by the American Commissioner renting rooms there from Mary Dominis catered to the cult of George Washington and rush to memorialize him in the early part of the nineteenth century.[13] The first such memorial was located in Baltimore, Maryland, and designed by Robert Mills. It was completed in the 1840s. The name Washington Place not only honored the man George Washington, but also underpinned Commissioner Anthony Ten Eyck's position as a representative, in Honolulu, of the very government Washington founded. The suggestion and concurrence by the Hawaiian King date to February of 1848.[14]

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[10] The Captain was born in Trieste in 1796. He came to Boston in 1819, and became a naturalized American citizen in 1825. Mary Dominis was born in 1803, arrived in Honolulu with her husband and their son John Owen Dominis in 1837. She died in 1889. The Captain and Mary Dominis also had two daughters, Mary Elizabeth and Frances Ann. The girls remained in New England, likely in the care of relatives, after the Captain, Mary, and John Owen Dominis left for Hawai'i. Both girls died young; Mary Elizabeth in 1838, her sister in 1842. John Dominis wrote to his mother from his trip to London for Queen Victoria's Jubilee that he had met someone whose mother was from New England and who had gone to school with two Dominis girls. He thought they must have been his sisters. Mary Dominis's parents were Elizabeth Lambert and Owen Jones of Boston. One of her sisters married Enoch Snelling; another Robert Holt. John O. Dominis to Mary Dominis, 14 June 1887, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93). Regarding the Captain's birth and naturalization, as well as the death dates of the Dominis girls, Dr. Ante Kovacevic, "On the Descent of John Owen Dominis, Prince Consort of Queen Lili'uokalani," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 10 (1976): 3-24. Kovacevic cites an (untitled) article in the *Schenectady Gazette* from 27 August 1932.

[11] John O. Dominis was born in March of 1832. He became the royal Governor of O'ahu in 1864, after Lot became King (Kamehameha V). Dominis died in 1891 shortly after his wife ascended to the throne.

[12] Queen Lili'uokalani was born in 1838 and died in 1917. She was the monarch of the Kingdom of Hawai'i from 1891 until the overthrow in January of 1893. Formal abdication did not come until 1895. The spelling of Lili'uokalani's given name is taken from her autobiography, *Hawai'i's Story*. Lili'uokalani, *Hawai'i's Story by Hawai'i's Queen*, with an introduction by Glen Grant (paperback ed., Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1990).

[13] Robert C. Wyllie, Foreign Office, to Anthony Ten Eyck, 16 November 1847, Hawai'i State Archives (FO & Ex, Box 21, folder 450).

[14] Robert C. Wyllie to Anthony Ten Eyck, 22 February 1848, Hawai'i State Archives (FO & Ex, Box 22, folder 463); Anthony Ten Eyck, Legation USA, Washington Place, to His Excellency Robert C. Wyllie,

Similarly, Prince Kūhiō's motion to have Washington Place set aside as a memorial to his second cousin (and aunt), the late Queen Lili'uokalani, in 1918 is colored by its origin in a lawsuit he initiated in order to gain title to her Waikīkī property. The outcome, moreover, transformed the place where the Queen lived following the Americans' seizure of the kingdom into the Territory's executive mansion.[15] Identification with the Island's government lent continuity to the house's significance, however, drawing on its past associations with the Hawaiian ali'i as new meanings were added. Today, it remains nonetheless a tangible reminder of the public, and private, woman that was Hawai'i's Queen, as well as a memorial to her life and times.

Historian: Virginia B. Price, 2007.

PART I. HISTORICAL INFORMATION

A. Physical History

1. Date of erection: 1841-47. The dwelling was constructed for Captain John Dominis as his residence. His wife, Mary Dominis, completed the project after the ship on which he was traveling, the brig *William Neilson*, was lost at sea en route to China.[16] Tradition holds Dominis was going to China for a trade mission and to

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Minister of Foreign Relations, 22 February 1848, Hawai'i State Archives (FO & Ex, Box 22, folder 463); and Robert C. Wyllie to Anthony Ten Eyck, Esquire, U.S. Commissioner, 21 February 1848, Hawai'i State Archives (FO & Ex, Box 22, folder 463). Copies/reprints in *Honolulu Advertiser* (24 February 1976). Also, House, *Foreign Relations of the United States 1894, Affairs in Hawai'i*, 53rd Cong., 3rd sess., (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 12. This is the "Blount Report" compiled by James Blount at the behest of President Cleveland, after the overthrow of the monarchy, for Congressional review.

[15] For a synopsis of the overthrow, see the Supplemental Information section below for a transcription of Lili'uokalani's official protest to the United States government; for a detailed account of the events that transpired, see the report of James Blount to Congress in 1894 (*Affairs in Hawai'i)*. A Copy of the Blount Report is available on-line through the University of Hawai'i.

[16] Charles Brewer, Jamaica Plains, to Mary Dominis, 13 June 1847, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives; Judd, 131; *Friend* (14 September 1861), 52-53 that prints an excerpt from *Friend* (15 May 1847), 78. Also, *Friend* (12 August 1846), *Friend* (15 August 1846), and Anthony Ten Eyck, Office of the U.S. Commission, Honolulu, to James Buchanan, Secretary of State, Despatch No. 3, 10 July 1846 and Despatch No. 4, 4 August 1846, RG 59 Records of the Department of State, Despatches from U.S. Ministers in Hawaii, 1843-1900, NARA (microfilm). George Brown, in his correspondence with the State Department, notes the arrival from Boston of the "*Wm Neilson* and *Kamehameha III* … within the last three weeks." George Brown to Secretary of State, Despatch No. 63, 11 March 1846, NARA. Henry Wilson wrote to John O. Dominis in December of 1848 from China and, in that letter, talked about the Captain. Wilson said that "I find that almost all the old merchants of Canton were well acquainted with your dear father – and they all spoke of him in the highest terms, and made many inquiries about his family, … I can more fully appreciate, now, than when at Honolulu, the great and irreparable loss your mother and yourself sustained in the death of Captain Dominis. He died in the midst of usefulness, and at the zenith of his fame." Henry Wilson, U.S. Ship *Preble*, Hong Kong, China, to John O. Dominis, 6 December 1848, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 104).

fetch exotic ebony furnishings for the house. Contractual and financial records of Captain Dominis provide details of the building project, but do not substantiate the shopping tale, which first appears in an 1895 newspaper article about the house.[17] Accounts for the new house include a bill for the digging of two wells in 1841,[18] for the making of a large, masonry safe in 1843,[19] and for the rebuilding of a wall along the Waikīkī side, or along the property line of the Miller premises (Charlton estate) in 1844.[20] Dominis was actively engaged in the planning for his

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[17] "An Historical Residence," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (9 March 1895), 1. Also, Jean Ariyoshi, *Washington Place: A First Lady's Story* (Honolulu: Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i, 2004), 89. The story of the Captain sailing for China on a "buying trip, hoping to acquire fine Chinese furniture, fashioned in ebony and rosewood, and upholstered in shimmering silks" is repeated here. Although not cited, Ariyoshi likely drew on the 1917 Thrum's *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual* (p. 135) and the 1899 *Annual* (p. 101) for her information. The source for the *Almanac and Annual* was likely the 1895 *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* article. Because the reporter was invited to Washington Place, and by extension to author the piece, the content is based on observations on site and oral tradition based on Lili'uokalani herself – both her recollections of the Dominis family and her repetition of what they told her about the Captain's last voyage. It is documented that Anthony Ten Eyck entrusted George Brown with copies of his dispatches, to take back to Washington, and Dominis's lawyer Francis Johnson wrote "Captain Dominis took with him all papers relating to his business in China…" However, without official instruction (which was unlikely given Brown was not allowed to talk to the Hawaiian government in an official capacity) and letters of introduction to that effect, the two were on their own diplomatically. Conducting diplomacy on the fly, as private citizens, was a felony per the 1799 Logan Act. So, more probably, the venture was commercial in nature and the political connections were merely hoped-for leverage to enter a tightly restricted trading zone. That both men were merely passengers, rather than sailing (and commissioning goods) under Dominis's command, adds a layer of mystique to the ill-fated voyage. Mark T. Hove, Office of the Historian (PA/HO), Department of State, to Virginia B. Price, electronic communication, June 2007; Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 3, 10 July 1846; Francis Johnson, Honolulu, to Abr'am Fayerweather, 16 November 1847, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93). In 1843, after the Opium War and Treaty of Nanking, American foreign policy makers sought equal commercial rights to those China proffered to England and sought to secure Americans' commercial interests in Hawai'i. The China trade expanded during the ensuing decade; Commodore Perry landed in Japan in 1853, but the goal was more for the establishment of a coaling station for ships en route to China. It is worthy of note that the officers from the Saratoga were entertained at a party given by Mary Dominis on Friday, 5 May 1854; the *Saratoga* had arrived in Honolulu on May 2nd en route to Washington with a "treaty of amity and friendship with the Emperor of Japan…" *The Diaries of David Lawrence Gregg: An American Diplomat in Hawaii 1853-1855*, edited by Pauline King (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1982), 124-25; Veronica Garrett, New Bedford Whaling Museum, to Virginia B. Price, electronic communication 29 June 2007. Also of interest, John R. Haddad, "Imagined Journeys to Distant Cathay: Constructing China with Ceramics, 1780-1920," *Winterthur Portfolio* 41, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 53-80.

[18] Andrew Auld billed Dominis for the wells in 1841.

[19] Isaac Hart subcontracts with "Mr. [Israel] Wright" and hires native masons and labors to work on this project. Items included in the $162.13 bill (paid in May of 1843) were labor costs over 17 ½ days, a koa joist, pine lumber, spikes, hooks, cut nails, bricks, cloth, knobs, and a table. In October of 1843, Vincent and Holden submitted a bill and received payment for their work on the house, plus nails, pine, and a bedstead. It is unclear which house – the dwelling in which the Dominis family then lived or one on the site of present-day Washington Place. Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841-47, Lili'uokalani Collection.

[20] John Sweetman billed Dominis for his part of the wall project in December of 1844; Sweetman pulled down the old wall and rebuilt it. He also plastered and whitewashed one side of another wall, 42' of it on Miller's premises as well as the top and both sides of the property line divider he had erected. Isaac Hart

new house by September of 1844 when he wrote to Henry Pierce about ordering supplies such as paint (white lead, extra Paris green, linseed oil), pine lumber, cut nails, hardware, and glass, and to his brother-in-law Enoch Snelling about designs for the front door. Pierce's reply, and the shipment of goods on the *Congaree*, left Boston in April of 1845; Snelling's answer to Dominis was similarly dated.[21]

Most activity appears to have occurred – or been billed – in the years between 1845 and 1847. The accounts maintained by C. Brewer & Co., for example, indicate a high concentration of masonry work taking place in the summer and fall of 1846, with one payment for stones earlier, in June. That November, the builder or general contractor for the project, Isaac Hart, received framing timber, joists and scantling, floorboards, planks, rafters, and other boards, suggesting that construction had progressed to the framing. By January of 1847, kanaka laborers were painting the roof. [22]

The following months record expenditures on lumber (rafters, laths, clapboards, redwood, California cedar), sheet lead, and various paints, including a red used on the roof.[23] It was not until April of 1847 that C. Brewer and Co. paid Wood and

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made the gate, while Israel Wright painted it with "lead colour paint and green paint." This took him one-fourth of day's labor. Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841-47, Lili'uokalani Collection.

[21] Henry A. Pierce, Boston, to Captain John Dominis, Oahu, 26 April 1845, and Enoch Snelling, Boston, to [Dominis], 28 April 1845, Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841-47, Lili'uokalani Collection. Pierce requested payment by January of 1846; he also advised Dominis that it was in his "fiduciary interest" to have returned to Boston to obtain materials in person. Pine was increasingly expensive. So, too, was plate glass. Thus Snelling sent him cylinder glass instead, advising Dominis to put the crowning side out. It is likely this shipment, itemized merely as nine boxes of windows, locks, and glass, that was the freight from the *Congaree*, a bill C. Brewer & Co. paid in November. U.S. Census records indicate that Snelling was a glazier. Snelling was married to Mary Dominis's sister.

[22] Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841-47, Lili'uokalani Collection; *Polynesian* (22 May 1847). Dominis was one of the arbitrators "on the case of the Wilmington and Liverpool packet, referred to in the testimony of John Meek. One of the other arbitrators – Mr. Dominis – has been absent since December last, and I have been waiting in expectation of his return to get his testimony, but he is still absent…" George Brown to Secretary of State, Despatch No. 38, 29 August 1845, NARA. Although Dominis was away from December 1844 through at least August of 1845, according to Brown's despatch, materials were shipped from Boston for the house in late April of 1845 (per order in September of 1844), arriving that November. Billing for work done, with the exception of that for the safe, wall and gate, and some supplies, begins in earnest in November of 1845. It continues throughout the year 1847, despite Dominis's disappearance.

[23] Also, Boelen describes his approach to Honolulu, lining up the wood house of the American Consul John Jones with a native hut; Jones's house had chimneys on each end – painted red. *A Merchant's Perspective*, 44. Similarly, Francis Allyn Olmsted describes Governor John Adams's house (as do most visitors) on the island of Hawai'i as a "large two-story stone building with a small portico projecting beyond the door, directly above which, in the second story, are three small gothic windows; the other windows that are fitted in our plain dwelling houses at home, which the house is itself intended to resemble. The roof is shingled and painted red, displaying upon the extremities of the ridge pole, two small chimnies [sic] placed there for ornament. In the rear of the house and adjoining it, is a thatched shed, where the Governor is to be found on most occasions, and there are several houses upon the premises built in native style…" Francis Allyn

Parke, on Captain Dominis's behalf, for "turning posts for the verandah" (lānai). By the next month, according to advertisements placed by Hart, the dwelling was purported to be "nearly completed." Nonetheless, the house was cleaned in June and work on the premises continued.[24]

That the house project was substantially underway by January of 1847, collaborating the receipts and the C. Brewer & Co. billing record, is noted by an American, Chester Lyman. Lyman was traveling from New England to the Hawaiian Islands and, from there, onto California, arriving in Honolulu in 1846 and leaving the following year. His religious convictions aligned him with the missionaries living and practicing in the Islands; they, in fact, engaged him in teaching briefly at the Royal School while he was in Honolulu. On Friday, 8 January 1847, Lyman wrote that he "went into the yard of Captain Dominis where he is building a splendid two story house with piazza all round in the east part of town. The house is to cost some 10,000 dollars & will be the finest in town." Lyman popped in after dining out, calling on Dr. Gerrit Judd, who lived next to the palace, and before stopping in at Judge Andrew's and trying again at Judd's house. Doubtless he was curious about the impressive construction project, but the diary entries suggest he was amusing himself in the neighborhood while waiting to see Judd.

Dominis had entertained Lyman during his brief stay in the city in 1846, so they were acquainted. He went to Dominis's to hear a Mr. Johnson sing, implying a social occasion like those offered at home. An earlier visitor to the islands, Francis Allyn Olmsted, reflected that a number of the 600 or so foreign residents lived "in good style with their adorned with elegant furniture, and command all the luxuries of foreign cities. It was with no small interest that [he] heard the notes of the piano forte, … there have been musical concerts got up at Honolulu, …sung with as much spirit and taste as in my own country."[25] Olmsted was writing around 1840, so by the time Lyman attended the concert at the Dominis's house, music was entertainment surely, but also offered a cultural norm by which the education and refinement of its practitioners could be judged and societal status affirmed. As for where such events occurred, Lyman's architectural

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Olmsted, *Incidents of a Whaling Voyage*… (Rutland, VT and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Publishers, 1969), 219. Other historical accounts call attention to housing on the islands, generally those of the mission settlements wherein there was a mix of native thatched huts and what is classified as a North American style of building. Most touch on Adams's dwelling, although Olmsted's is the only mention of the red roof. The reference is important, however, for it substantiates the interpretation of Washington Place's roof color in the oil painting as a characteristic of Anglo-influenced buildings in the islands. For other descriptions, see for example Lyman, 66; *A Merchant's Perspective*, 34-36, and 56 when Adams's house is compared to the royal palace, also made of wood imported from North America.

[24] Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841-47, Lili'uokalani Collection.

[25] Olmsted, 200.

commentary was primarily focused on spiritual spaces so his reference to the building of Washington Place in 1847 speaks to its import.[26]

A private account held by C. Brewer and Co. for John Dominis, with debits running from 5 August 1846 through 27 October 1847 substantiates the impression left by Lyman that Washington Place was well-underway in January and underscores the Captain's planning for his absence, both for his wife and for the construction project. For example, the records indicate Mary Dominis received $75 cash at the beginning of each month, which likely was an arrangement established to cover expenses while the Captain was at sea. By June of 1847, when the last cash payment was made, the brig *William Neilson* was long over-due in China and Charles Brewer wrote to Mary Dominis about the loss of her husband and his long-time friend. This account also suggests that Dominis rented a place from T.C.B. Rooke in Nu'uanu, initially for five months, from August of 1846 to January of 1847. The balance of the rent was paid in October of 1847.[27] This could be where Dominis was living, after their dwelling on Fort Street was sold and before the new house was habitable.[28] The account credits show that Joel Turrill, who incidentally was the U.S. Consul in Honolulu at the time, bought a house from Dominis and began making payments in February of 1847.[29] The remaining balance ($10,231.93), the majority from profits made with the *Swallow*'s cargo, was transferred to the "new house" account in October and this private account closed.[30]

Also corresponding to Lyman's time in the islands in 1846 and 1847 was a report in the *Polynesian* that accounted for construction during that time period, including houses of wood, stucco, and stone. There was, for example, a wood addition to the Palace, to make a dining room. There were twelve residences made of stone, four of which cost nearly $12,000 apiece. All were over $2500, most

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[26] Lyman, 75, 162. Lyman mentions Bernice Pauahi, who later married Charles Reed Bishop, and Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV) in particularly complimentary terms; while he does not mention Lili'uokalani by name, she certainly was one of the "young ladies [who were] fine performers on the piano." Lyman, 71-72. David Gregg also recounts a visit to Pākī's house in February of 1854 wherein he formed a favorable impression of Mrs. Bishop, identified as Pākī's daughter, and Miss Emma Rooke. He notes "Miss Lydia Pākī another daughter of the chief was likewise present." *The Diaries of David Lawrence Gregg*, 85.

[27] The receipt for payment received in full was dated 6 October 1847. Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 8A, folder 86). This collaborates the Brewer accounting.

[28] Where Mary Dominis lived after the lease was unclear. Accounts record payments for a night watchman from June 22 to September 5, 1847; this suggests the house was complete enough to entice vandals or thieves but not yet inhabitable. Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841-47, Lili'uokalani Collection.

[29] He paid in four installments of $1000 each, dated February 1st, February 6th, August 5th, and August 9th.

[30] Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 102).

falling within a $4000 to $8000 range. Captain Dominis's dwelling, noted as "elegant and costly" was included, as were the houses of Theodore Shillaber,[31] Dr. R.W. Wood,[32] Mr. Wood, Dr. G.P. Judd, William Richards, the Queen's Lodge, Hoʻoliliamanu, Keliʻiahonui, John Young (Keoni Ana), Abner Pākī, and Captain John Meek. [33] The survey of buildings taken at the same time revealed 875 grass houses, 345 adobe houses, forty-nine coral stone houses, forty-nine wood houses, and twenty-nine with stone or adobe on the first floor and wood above.[34] Laura Fish Judd claimed the "fine private residences of Captain Dominis, Dr. Wood, Mr. Shillaber, and Pākī, will [together with the "new court-house, custom-house, market, and printing office, all of coral stone"] … "give quite a new aspect to the city."[35] Judd, too, placed all of these structures in the building boom then happening in Honolulu. Her specific reference to the houses of Dominis, Wood, Shillaber, and Pākī argue for them being the four $12,000 edifices.

2. Builder/Architect: Isaac Hart.

Like his patron Captain John Dominis, Isaac Hart hailed from New England and settled in Hawaii. He was there by 1832.[36] Hart was well established in business

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[31] In the fall of 1848 Shillaber was sent by the Hawaiian government to California with permission to negotiate a trade agreement, a fair reciprocity of "flags and goods," in the midst of the gold rush. Shillaber's commission enraged Anthony Ten Eyck, who saw his position as the U.S. Commissioner as the proper channel for such diplomacy. Shillaber ultimately resigned his commission, in December, once Governor Mason told him no one in California had authority to act on such a deal. Gilman, 164-66. See also Anthony Ten Eyck to Robert C. Wyllie, No. 65, 9 October 1848, through Despatch No. 68, 16 October 1848, and Robert C. Wyllie to Anthony Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 11, 9 October 1848, through Despatch No. 14, 17 October 1848, Library of Congress.

[32] When talking about Honolulu's affluent merchant class and their houses, Gilman touts Robert Wood's dwelling as one of the handsomest and perhaps the best in the city. It was constructed in 1847 and demolished in 1900 for the Alexander Young Hotel. It was on the corner of Bishop and Hotel streets. Gilman, 145.

[33] The Reverend William Richards was a government advisor serving as the Minister of Public Instruction. He was building a house on what is now Beretania Street, but died before it was completed. His widow could neither afford to finish the project nor hire a watchman to protect the site and lumber. Richard A. Greer, "Honolulu in 1847," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 4 (1970): 83. Abner Pākī was Liliʻuokalani's adopted father; Captain Meek's son was a contemporary of John O. Dominis. According to friends, Dominis's mistress goes to live with Meek sometime after Dominis moved to San Francisco and "nothing could be done" with Captain Meek's son.

[34] Greer, "Honolulu in 1847," 59-63.

[35] Judd, 133.

[36] Hart was from New Bedford, Massachusetts. One of the leases to be auctioned in 1847 had been held by Hart for fifteen years; the other for six. This puts Hart in the islands in 1832. "Marshal's Sale," *Polynesian* (26 June 1847). Backing up Hart's arrival date to 1828 is the story that Levi Chamberlain, the agent for the American Mission's secular affairs, hired Hart to build houses for the missionaries on Kauaʻi. The project

by October of 1843 when the Reverend Bishop contracted with him for the fashioning of window sashes. Hart was working with Israel Wright[37] by this time as well for Bishop, who also paid Wright for glazing sash, likely the same Hart had made as the quantity ordered was identical.[38] Hart's and Wright's collaboration on various construction projects, such as the sash made for Bishop and the safe for Captain Dominis made that same year, was highlighted in a 1847 advertisement in the *Polynesian*. Hart, the house-builder, and Wright, the painter and glazer, posted notice of their work in Honolulu that season, including public and private buildings, and including a bid for future projects that [they] "hear contemplated" such as the "slightly fireproof courthouse and public warehouse and custom-house…" Their public work was for the "two-story printing office, a substantial building, …whose architectural style baffles description" while the private buildings featured "the elegant and costly mansion of Capt[ain] Dominis, nearly completed; of Theodore Shillaber, Esq., in the East Indian Style of architecture commenced;[39] [and the] houses of the Premier and Minister of Public Instruction, Mr. Paki and Dr. Wood, …; [plus the] large wooden Yankee tavern-house of Mr. Nadal; [the] extensive hotel of Joseph Booth, stone below and wood above; [the] brick show-shop of Mr. Wood, …, and sundry other buildings."[40] This capitalized on the prestigious commission Hart had won from Kekūanāo'a in 1844.[41]

Hart, listed on the register of foreigners or resident aliens in the islands in January of 1847, must have run into difficulties after the advertisement was published for the next month the *Polynesian* noted a judgment against him in favor of C. Brewer & Co., and a pending Marshall's sale for "a large quantity of carpenter's

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lasted until June the following year. "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan," Sec. 2-31. Stewart, who came out to Hawai'i with Chamberlain, references his role in secular affairs and his presence at various functions. He does not, however, detail Chamberlain's house or those he had constructed. *Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands,…*, with an introduction by William Ellis (3rd edition, 1830; facsimile reprint, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press for the Friends of the Library of Hawai'i, 1970), 327.

[37] Israel H. Wright advertised in the *Polynesian* and *Friend* as a painter and glazer. He had a partnership with a man named Field, although that business entity was dissolved by May of 1845. At that time Wright posted notice that he would continue "house, siga [sic], and coach painting at [the] old stand. Israel H. Wright, Honolulu, May 13, 1845." *Friend* (15 December 1845): 192; *Polynesian* (13 December 1845).

[38] Hawaiian Mission Children's Library –A. Bishop, October 1843, Hawai'i State Archives.

[39] Shillaber's house, a bungalow, is illustrated on Emmert's lithograph, plate 5, cut 14, and described in "Honolulu in 1853," 100. This house was also made of coral stone. George Brown described a dinner party at the house, although he was discussing the oath of allegiance requirement not architecture. George Brown to Secretary of State, Despatch No. 34, 18 August 1845, NARA.

[40] *Polynesian* (22 May 1847).

[41] Isaac Hart to Governor Kekūanāo'a, 15 May 1844, Hawai'i State Archives.

tools" and supplies such as nails, crews, wire, paint, locks, circular saws, a tenon machine, and a mortise machine. Also for sale were furnishings, books, and a saddle and bridle. Both leases Hart held were to be sold as well. Perhaps he was over-extended on the projects, awaiting payment. Hart died two years later. His obituary simply stated that he was "a carpenter, long a resident in the islands."[42]

3. Original and subsequent owners, occupants, uses:

a. Chain of Title: As Lili'uokalani writes in her autobiography, "…originally all territory belonged to the king, by whom it was apportioned for use only, not for sale, to the chiefs, who in turn assigned tracts, small or large, to their people; … but about fifty years ago there came, in place of our own method, the land system [that in effect] divided the Territory of the Islands into three parts, not necessarily equal, …" She continued, describing the division as one-third devoted to "use or expenses of government; one-third to the people; and the remainder continued … as the private property … of the reigning sovereign. That part of Hawai'i given by the king to the people has almost entirely left them, …"[43] The Queen referred to the land redistribution, known as the Māhele, which replaced the ahupua'a or traditional Hawaiian division of land in 1848. She was quite correct in that the lands available to the Hawaiian people for purchase had been bought by others, mostly those of western origins whose familiarity with patents, surveys, and the necessity of legal title the Māhele ultimately favored.[44] This occurred under the reign of Kamehameha III, who had moved the islands' capital to Honolulu from Lahaina, Maui, afterwards claiming the governor of O'ahu's house (the city's finest) as his. The governor, Kekūanāo'a, was having the dwelling erected for his daughter, Princess Victoria Kamāmalu, grand-daughter of King Kamehameha I and sister to Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kapuāiwa who would become King Kamehameha IV and King Kamehameha V respectively.[45]

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[42] *Friend* (15 October 1849), 64; *Polynesian* (9 January 1847); *Polynesian* (26 June 1847). Also of note, Hart served as one of the jurors on the controversial Wiley case in 1845. George Brown recorded the proceedings in his communications back to Washington, D.C., and included additional documentation relating to the case, which is how Hart's civic duty earlier that summer was revealed. George Brown to Secretary of State, Despatch No. 34, 18 August 1845, NARA.

[43] Lili'uokalani, *Hawai'i's Story by Hawai'i's Queen*, with an introduction by Glen Grant (paperback ed., Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1990): 358-59.

[44] Greer, "Honolulu in 1847," 69-70. Also Mason Architects and Kenneth Hays, "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan," Report prepared for the Department of Accounting and General Services, September 2006, Sec. 2-20. On the evolving legal system, of which the Māhele was only one part, see Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 3-9, 35-114.

[45] *Polynesian* (26 October 1844); Isaac Hart to Governor Kekūanāo'a, 15 May 1844, Hawai'i State Archives; Charles E. Peterson, "The Iolani Palaces and the Barracks," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 22, no. 2 (1963): 91-92.

This predicament, wherein Native Hawaiians lost traditional rights of occupancy on the land, was foretold by David Malo in 1837. Malo wrote, "…the ships of the whitemen have come, …they know our people are few in number and living in a small country; they will eat us up, such has always been the case with large countries, the small ones have been gobbled up."[46] In 1843 Malo's fears were realized when Lord George Paulet intimidated Kamehameha III into ceding the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands to Britain. Paulet's coup was temporary, and the monarchy was restored by Admiral Sir Richard Thomas months later, on July 31st.[47] Hawaiian dependence on western conscience, and an inability to fight off naval firepower should it lapse, left the monarchy in an uneasy position for the remainder of the nineteenth century.[48]

And yet Paulet was not the first military figure to brandish firepower at the island monarchy; in 1839, the French Admiral Laplace presented a trade and treaty agreement to the king and threatened to attack the fort and the town if the king ignored his request and refused both the agreement and the sizable monetary "deposit" of 100,000 francs. Such tactics already had proved successful in Tahiti in his negotiations with Queen Pomare. Among other things, Laplace attempted to counter the influence of the American missionaries by allowing both Catholic missions and French liquors on the islands. Laplace recalled Kamehameha's lament at his eminent departure, "…just like the commanders of French warships who have come before, you will soon leave, never to return, after having made me aware of how distressing and humiliating my position is."[49]

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[46] Cited in Glen Grant, "*Hawai'i's Story by Hawai'i's Queen*: A Voice for Hawaiian Sovereignty," vii.

[47] Ralph Simpson Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1938-53), 208-23.

[48] See, for example, David Zmijewski, "The Conspiracy that Never Existed: How Hawai'i Evaded Annexation in 1868," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 37 (2003): 119-37, regarding another push for taking the islands in the 1860s amidst the sugar reciprocity treaty furor.

[49] Mary Ellen Birkett, "The French Perspective on the Laplace Affair," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 32 (1998): 67-100. Laplace was not the last; in 1850 Hawai'i and France entered a new round of negotiations and Hawai'i eventually requested the recall of the French Consul Dillon. In December Emile Perrin arrived on board the warship *La Serieuse*. Perrin was the new Consul, and issued new demands. The presence of the warship in port was cause for anxiety and the government asked William Miller for assistance. Miller, bound by the 1844 agreement restoring Hawaiian sovereignty could not act; Luther Severance, the U.S. Commissioner in Honolulu, agreed to help in an emergency effectively promising to take the islands as a temporary American protectorate as a measure of last resort. In August of 1849, Fayerweather described the situation to Dominis as: "As to politics we have just woke up a little. The French Admiral has been here a few days, and has been making demands upon the kanaka government, which the latter have thought fit not to comply with. Accordingly on the afternoon of the 25th, the French (who have also a steamer here) landed a force and took possession of the Fort, the Honolulu House, and the Custom House, and still retain possession of them. They have also seized all vessels under the Islands' Flag… The Admiral says he does not mean to take the Islands nor establish a Protectorate…[both sides are obstinate so] in consequence all business is at a stop. The government offices and custom house are closed… How it will end God only

The next year, the first written Constitution was promulgated.[50] The government was organized, carefully spelling out the roles of the monarch, the premier, the island chiefs or governors, judiciary, and establishing a legislature. Land ownership remained essentially unchanged in that it belonged to the government and the king parceled it out.[51] The lessons of Laplace and Paulet did not go unheeded, however, and by 1843 movement was taken to secure property rights and to open land ownership to foreign nationals. The king, and his heirs, retained "crown lands" for their use, but for the remainder of the populace the Board of Commissioners (1846-55) determined the validity of land claims, and issued royal patents for a fee.[52] The various chiefs applied for titles to lands they held at the time, as did the naturalized citizens who likewise sought to secure title to property they already occupied. Commoners and resident aliens were also eligible to buy, or rather patent, land lots while foreigners could only lease them. Native Hawaiians did not participate in the program at the same rate, possibly because the significance of a patent and the rights it represented was not fully explained or

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knows, but I wish it were well over; most people here do not anticipate a change for at least 4 months." *The Diaries of David Lawrence Gregg*, 14-15; Jean Charlot, "An 1849 Hawaiian Broadside," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 4 (1970): 100-03; Gorham D. Gilman, "1848—Honolulu As It Is-Notes for Amplification," edited by Jean S. Sharpless and Richard A. Greer, *Hawaiian Journal of History* 4 (1970): 113-17, 133-36; W.J. Robertson, Honolulu, to John O. Dominis, 3 September 1849, and A.H. Fayerweather, Honolulu, to John O. Dominis, San Francisco, 27 August 1849, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, folder 11, folder 105). See also Lyman's account of Paulet and Laplace, 74; *Affairs in Hawai'i*, 8-10, 13; Olmsted, 263; and Paul T. Burlin, *Imperial Maine and Hawaii: Interpretative Essays in the History of Nineteenth-Century American Expansion* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006), 95-134. Olmsted's characterization of French diplomacy is colorfully judgmental. He wrote, "with regard to the shameful aggressions of the French frigate "Il'Artemise" at these islands, about a year since, and the insolent and bullying conduct of the French Consul, … all the proceedings of that disgraceful affair – the most outrageous that has violated national sovereignty for many years – have been published to the world, …" Also, Harold Whitman Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawai'i, the Pioneers 1789-1843* (Gloucester: P. Smith, 1968), 271-333.

[50] This established the constitutional monarchy, which remained in effect until the overthrow of the Queen in 1893. Successive constitutions restricted the monarch's role and changed voter eligibility among other legislation. The "Bayonet Constitution" of 1887 essentially stripped the king (Kalākaua) of his executive authority and empowered a few foreign residents. Those residents that forced the king to sign the document were the core of those that deposed the Queen, particularly Lorrin A. Thurston, a lawyer, and Sanford B. Dole, a justice on the Supreme Court. For more information on the 1840 to 1887 period, see Jon Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002). See also Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. III: *1874-93*.

[51] "The 1840 Constitution," *Kaho'oilina (The Legacy) Journal of Hawaiian Language Sources* (n.d.): 35-59.

[52] *Polynesian* (13 December 1845); this Saturday edition reprinted Article IV – of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, essentially outlining the process for obtaining title to land in the kingdom.

understood. It is probable, too, that procuring the monies needed for the survey and fees was a difficult-to-insurmountable hurdle.

The Māhele was also precipitated by the land claims of the British Consul, Richard Charlton, who had been awarded a 299-year lease signed by Karaimoku [Kalanimoku] and dated to 1826. Kamehameha III refused to recognize this deed, complaining of Charlton's conduct, and the Consul returned to England to present his case. In his absence, Lord George Paulet was ordered to examine matters relating to property and to the Consul. Paulet had instructions to request that "…the government [which] has, in the absence of Her Majesty's Consul, Mr. Charlton, upon a frivolous pretext attached the property of that gentleman, and expressed a determination to proceed to the sale of it; should you find such to be the case you will peremptorily demand of the government, that the property so unjustly seized contrary to the Law of Nations… shall be forthwith restored and acquaint them that the government of Great Britain will hold that of the Sandwich Islands responsible for the marked want of respect,…"[53] Paulet's liberal interpretation of his orders to restore British prestige and various complaints of British citizens about their rights to property led to his taking of the islands, by act of provisional cession. Admiral Richard Thomas went to Honolulu to investigate and determined the preemptive strike by Paulet was unwarranted. Thomas restored the Hawaiian government in July, though diplomatic ties were strengthened through subsequent negotiations.[54]

The remaining dispute involved Charlton's land claim;[55] Kamehameha III acknowledged the grant of land on Beretania Street for residential purposes, but not that along the wharf arguing permission was only for an office on the water rather than the whole parcel. Questions arose as to whether Karaimoku, who was then dead, had the power to grant land deeds and if the signatures were valid.

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[53] Paske-Smith, 12, who cites Richard Thomas, Rear Admiral, to The Right Honorable Lord George Paulet, Captain of Her Majesty's Ship *Carysfort*, 18 January 1843, British Public Record Office, Admiralty 1/5531.

[54] The Hawaiian government entered into treaty agreements with both England and France shortly thereafter. The virtually identical documents were printed in the *Friend*, a copy of which was sent to the U.S. State Department by George Brown. *Friend* (15 April 1846); George Brown to Secretary of State, Despatch No. 66, 6 April 1846, NARA. Anthony Ten Eyck, Brown's successor, was supposed to secure a treaty with equal (or greater) terms for the U.S. Ten Eyck's instructions were dated 10 September 1845. See also, James Buchanan to Anthony Ten Eyck, No. 7, 28 August 1848, Department of State, Instructions, Hawaii, II, reprinted in *The Works of James Buchanan*, edited by John Bassett Moore, VIII: 1848-53 (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott Company, 1909), 181-90.

[55] Murray, Foreign Office, to Robert C. Wyllie, Private, 1 January 1845, Robert C. Wyllie Papers, Hawai'i State Archives (M-162, folder 2). Murray wrote that he regrets "to see M. Charlton gives you trouble – I should have thought he might have learned prudence & moderation ere this." Murray's comment is but one example of those who rued Charlton's methods, or at least, his behavior.

Upon his arrival, General William Miller examined the deed. The signatures were judged by him to be authentic. The case finally was closed in August of 1846.[56]

Claim No. 850. Richard Charlton to John Dominis. 25 December 1849.[57]

The claim was for a "house lot situated in Honolulu Island of Oahu, and generally known as Washington Place." Evidence gathered in the claim revealed that Charlton, by virtue of his 299-year leasehold granted by Karaimoku in October of 1826, conveyed the lot where Washington Place was built to John Dominis as "part and parcel of a leasehold" on 26 December 1840 for $600. The claim further notes that Dominis improved the lot and he and his representatives "had peaceable and quiet possession of said lot from the date of the aforesaid conveyance."

The claim continued, stating there was no dispute to Dominis's deed and awarded of the lot generally known as Washington Place to Dominis and his heirs and assigns for the term of 299 years. Since Dominis was dead, his widow Mary and only son John O. Dominis were named in the document and rights of inheritance to their heirs and assigns granted. The caveat, from Charlton's original lease, was extended to the Dominis's claim namely, that at the conclusion of the 299-year lease beginning in 1826, the property and its improvements would revert to the Hawaiian Kingdom without any cost or charge.

Claim No. 4888. John O. Dominis and Mary Dominis. 31 March 1849.[58]

Dominis initiated the claim on his behalf and his mother for "a small lot, one hundred and twenty feet square, situated in the Town of Honolulu, just in the rear of and adjoining the Dwelling House Lot of Mary Dominis known as Washington

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[56] *Polynesian* (4 October 1845); George Brown to Secretary of State, Despatch No. 37, August 1845, NARA; Paske-Smith, 14-15; Richard A. Greer, "Along the Old Honolulu Waterfront," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 32 (1998): 44-47; "Hawaii, Kingdom, Foreign Office, Charlton Land Claim," and "Hawaii, Kingdom, Foreign Office, Charlton Land Claim," *Hawaiian National Biography 1780-1900* II: *1831-50*, edited by David W. Forbes (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 19--), 473-75. The *Hawaiian National Biography* references the *Polynesian* (29 August 1846) issue as well as the results of the investigation at the Palace regarding the validity of the signatures that ensued. The Palace investigation was chronicled and published as a supplement, advertised for sale in the *Polynesian* (11 September 1847). The dispute mostly encircled the valuable waterfront parcel. Ten Eyck referenced the Charlton Claims in his letters to Buchanan; see, Anthony Ten Eyck, Office of the U.S. Commission, to James Buchanan, Secretary of State, Despatch No. 19, 6 September 1847, NARA. Charlton himself placed a cautionary notice in the *Friend* advising the public "against purchasing any portion of the land called Britannia, late in occupation of the undersigned, now in that of Her Britannic Majesty's Consul General, or any portion of the land within the limits of the deed, as the undersigned is about to institute proceeding for the recovery of the same, the sale having been illegal." *Friend* (15 December 1845).

[57] Claim No. 850, Int Dept/Land, Box 90, Letters (incoming) 1889 Aug 1-14, Hawai'i State Archives.

[58] Claim No. 4888, Int Dept/Land, Box 90, Letters (incoming) 1889 Aug 1-14, Hawai'i State Archives.

Place." The Board of Commissioners determined that Dominis was entitled to the leasehold for the remainder of Charlton's 299-year term and the conditions therein for the property's return to the government at the conclusion of the lease. The lot was surveyed by Metcalf on 20 February 1849.

Royal Patent No. 3462, 1889.[59]

In August 1889, Dominis petitioned the government for permission to purchase the lots he held by lease, or rather, offered to purchase the government's interest in the property so that he could receive a patent and legal title. W.D. Alexander, the Surveyor-General, wrote to the Minister of the Interior in support of Dominis's request. Alexander compares the request to an earlier appeal by three men for their lots in the land known as Pulaholaho wherein all three received quit-claim deeds in exchange for a nominal fee (one as low as $200) and for paying taxes. Alexander noted that Dominis already held Land Commission Awards for his land and should be entitled to a Royal Patent.[60] Dominis authorized a payment of $250 at the end of that month.[61] The Royal Patent for Washington Place was granted by Kalākaua, co-signed by the Minister of the Interior L. Thurston, and filed. A survey accompanied the patent, noting the Dominis lot as Land Commission Award 850, a 299-year leasehold from October of 1826; the lot behind it as LCA 4888; plus the stone house premises ʻEwa and the British Consulate premises to the Waikīkī side. Miller's patent for the consulate land dates to July of 1854.[62]

Queen Liliʻuokalani inherited the property from her husband, John O. Dominis, after his death in 1891.[63] By the decade's end, she referred to a lease of the Miller

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[59] Royal Patent No. 3462, Kalākaua to John O. Dominis, 22 January 1890, Bureau of Conveyances Public Reference, Hawaiʻi State Archives (microfilm). Other references to the title include testimony by Mrs. Dominis as well as the Charlton Land Claims, testimony and supplements, 1845-47; Captain Dominis Accounts 1842-47, Liliʻuokalani Collection; Interior Department Letterbook 39, p. 435 (Hassinger to Alexander, 14 August 1889); and Interior Department/Land (Alexander to Hassinger, 13-14 August 1889) from the Hawaiʻi State Archives; *Hawaiian Gazette* (17 December 1889): 7. Also, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (9 March 1895), although this source states Dominis paid $255 rather than $250 for it.

[60] W.D. Alexander, Surveyor-General, to L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior, 14 August 1889, Int Dept/Land, Box 90, Letters (incoming), 1889 Aug 1-15, Hawaiʻi State Archives.

[61] Cecil Brown, Atty for J.O. Dominis, to L.A. Thurston, 29 August 1889, Int Dept/Land, Box 90, Letters 1889 Aug 16-31, Hawaiʻi State Archives.

[62] Royal Patent No. 1428, Kamehameha III to William Miller, 20 July 1854, Bureau of Conveyances Public Reference, Hawaiʻi State Archives (microfilm).

[63] Dominis's will was dated 27 May 1867 and probated 30 September 1891. Liliʻuokalani received the property outright if Mary Dominis predeceased her and if John and Liliʻuokalani had no issue. Will No. 2749, Liliʻuokalani Trust Records, Hawaiʻi State Archives (M-397, box 3, land book).

premises to O'ahu College and their option to purchase it in her correspondence with Joseph O. Carter. By August of 1899 she had decided to give up the lease to the school if she could buy a small strip to the rear of the lot, but mention of the Miller premises occurred again in correspondence dating to1904 suggesting that improvements are happening relating to the school and to the extension of Richards Street and that the Queen was watching with them a wary eye.[64] After Lili'uokalani died, her trustees negotiated with her nephew Prince Kūhiō over the fate of Washington Place. Eventually the settlement entailed turning Washington Place over to the territorial government for use as an Executive Mansion, with the idea it would be "occupied and used only for a public or charitable purpose." The legislature resolved to acquire the place in 1919; in the interim, Governor McCarthy leased the property from the trustees. With Washington Place came many of the Queen's furnishings; these too were accounted for in various inventories.[65] In 1921 Washington Place was claimed through the processes of eminent domain by the Territory and the trustees compensated at the appraised value of $55,000.[66]

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[64] Lili'uokalani, Washington, DC, to John O. Carter, 3 August 1899, 10 August 1899, 26 September 1899, 9 October 1899, 27 October 1899, 5 February 1904, Hui Hānai Collection, Queen Lili'uokalani Children's Center; see also, Lili'uokalani to J. O. Carter, 8 November 1903, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93). In this letter she expressed the wish to purchase the property outright in order to keep the parcel adjoining Washington Place from becoming the site for public buildings. In her diary for the year 1894, Lili'uokalani says she bought of Dr. McKibbin (through a C.T. Gulick) the lease of the Miller premises for $500 a year. This would be the lease that was the subject of her negotiations with the school. Lili'uokalani, Diary 15 November 1894, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93). The HSA has the Queen's diaries from 1887, 1888, 1893, 1894, and 1906. Transcripts of these are on file at Washington Place. The Bishop Museum has several more.

[65] Act 229 [HB No. 320], 'An Act to Provide for the Acquisition of an Executive Mansion for the Governor of Hawai'i," Session Laws of Hawai'i 1919; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (18 September 1918): 1; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (9 October 1918): 1; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (6 February 1919): sec 2:1; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (12 May 1921): 1; *Honolulu Advertiser* (12 March 1922); Charles J. McCarthy Collection, 1918-1921, Hawai'i State Archives (Gov. 5-8); Smith, Warren, and Whitney, 4 June 1918, Lili'uokalani Trust Records, Hawai'i State Archives (M-397, box 1, folder 1, trust deed/ Kūhiō claims); regarding inventories, see Lili'uokalani Trust Records, Hawai'i State Archives (M-397, box 3, folder 1). Also, C.J. McCarthy, Governor of Hawai'i to Honorable A. Lindsay, Jr., Honolulu, 17 June 1921, Lili'uokalani Trust Records, Hawai'i State Archives (M-397, box 3, folder 1), for McCarthy's list of pieces he wished to buy from the estate. Regarding McCarthy's lease, see Lili'uokalani Trust Records, Hawai'i State Archives (M-397, box 3, folder for temporary administrator).

[66] L.J. Warren to Trustees, 23 May 1919; H.L. Holstein to Trustees, 23 September 1918; Judgment, 11 May 1921; Receipt, 14 May 1921; and Final Order of Condemnation, 14 May 1921, Lili'uokalani Trust Records, Hawai'i State Archives (M-397, box 3, folder for lands). Also, House Department Communication, No. 55, 20 March 1919; *Report of the Superintendent of Public Works to the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii for the year ending 30 June 1922*, 20-21. The Superintendent's report is on file at the Hawai'i State Archives.

Executive Order No. 535, 25 May 1932.

This document adds four lots along Miller Street to the Washington Place parcel, once part of the Miller Tract (Grant No. 1428 to William Miller, the British Consul) located along the "south boundary of Land Court Application 481 (Trustees, Lili'uokalani Trust, applicant) and on the new northeast side of Beretania Avenue" encompassing an area of 40,268 square feet.[67] Lot one of the Land Court Application was subdivided into two lots. It contained 67,184 square feet and was covered by a certificate of title (no. 1812) to the Hawaiian Territory. According to the survey done in March of 1932, lot one was Washington Place. From the Miller Tract, lots 23, 24, and part of 25 were appended to Washington Place, while the half of lot 25 that fronted on Beretania and on Miller Street was conveyed to the Territory. Eight lots to the rear of the Miller Tract remained; these were divided by Miller Lane, with lots 15,17, 19, and 21 on the north side and lots 16, 18, 20, and 22 to the south.[68]

In 1951, the survey for the addition to Washington Place was revised and Executive Order 1429 incorporated the remaining eight lots into the parcel. This folded another 27,210 square feet into the property and squared-off the tract.[69]

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[67] Deeds referenced for the lots include: Arthur G. Hodgins to the Territory, July 1919, Deed Book 521, p. 101; Frank L. Putman to the Territory, July 1919, Deed Book 514, p. 4[59?]; Honolulu Gas Co., Ltd., to Territory, July 1919, Deed Book 529, p. 5; and Honolulu Gas Co., Ltd., to the Territory, December 1931, Deed Book 1144, p. 411.

[68] By the 1940s plans to improve the capitol grounds, including Washington Place and the war memorial, led to the widening of Beretania Street and the desire to round off the Washington Place lot. In 1943 the Territorial Land Department began a purchasing program, acquiring six lots for $50,000. These were residential and would remain as such while the wartime housing shortage continued. A 1946 internal memo indicated progress was slower, revealing that in April of 1944, only two of the six had been obtained. "Improvement of Washington Place Planned," *Honolulu Advertiser* (5 October 1946), 4; A.A. Dunn, Land Executive, to Hon. Gerald R. Corbett, Acting Governor of Hawai'i, 25 February 1946, Stainback Collection. Also, Rhoda V, Lewis, Assistant Attorney General, to Hon. Ingram M. Stainback, 1 April 1944; Stainback to auditor, memo 4 April 1944; and J. McE. Huey, to Hon. Ingram M. Stainback, 21 August 1943, Stainback Collection. Huey sent the Governor a drawing of the plots of land, the acquisition of which would square off the parcel and "remove a disagreeable feature." The auditor and the Attorney General were preparing for the allotment of the addition to Washington Place. The appraisal of the property in question came to $54, 175.

[69] Executive Order 1429, 18 April 1951, and Addition to Washington Place, survey revised March 1951. Deeds referenced in this acquisition include: Land Office Deed 7653, Land Office Deed 7971, Land Office Deed 7982, Land Office Deed 7916, Land Office Deed 7981, Land Office Deed 7973, and Land Office Deed 7895. All belonged to the grant made to William Miller (grant no. 1428). See also, Department of Finance, Property Assessment Division, Tax Maps Sections, State of Hawai'i, tax map zone 2, section 1, plat 18, dated January 1932/December 3, 1984. The Conservation Plan includes a map of the grounds (fig. 6-1) and shows a portion added to the Waikīkī side in the 1980s, aligning the boundary with the street and underground entrance to the Capitol. This likely precipitated the new tax map from 1984. See "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan," Sec. 6-2.

b. Occupants: As soon as it was inhabitable, the family of Captain John Dominis lived in the house despite his disappearance at sea in 1846-47.[70] The Captain's death left his widow Mary in a precarious financial position,[71] likely because shipping profits were only made once the cargo was sold, and Dominis's employers Russell & Co. pressed a large claim relating to liabilities stemming from his voyage on the brig *Jos. Peabody*. Dominis's attorney Francis Johnson asked that the claim not be "urge[d] … upon Mrs. Dominis or even to distress her feelings by exacting security upon her property" while he investigated matters.[72] Around the same time Mary Dominis began to take in boarders.[73] In doing so she not only benefited monetarily, but also ensured a continued place in the heart of the Anglo community by accommodating the politically well connected.

That she was successful in doing so is suggested by a letter from her son John written while accompanying his wife, then known as Princess Lili'uokalani, to Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebration in London. John Dominis commented that he had "read with pleasure the account of *your* jubilee reception published in the

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[70] Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 3, 10 July 1846; Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 4, 4 August 1846; *Friend* (1 March 1847); *Friend* (14 September 1861): 52-53; *Friend* (15 May 1847): 78; *Friend* (15 August 1846): 126; *Friend* (12 August 1847): 18. Captain Dominis was included on the register of foreigners residing in Honolulu, published on January 9, 1847, in the *Polynesian*; at that time, the Brig *William Neilson* was over-due in China. She had been expected in December. The March edition of the *Friend* noted there had been no news of the vessel; by May, she was confirmed missing. In August, there still had been no news and no note of her from the Chinese records.

[71] Henry Wilson, Honolulu, to John O. Dominis, 13 October 1849, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 105). Wilson says he saw Mary Dominis at dinner and described her appearance, attributing it to her changed circumstances, writing that, "She looked tolerable only. Hard work and troubles, incident to remedy [illegible] &c have worn her down somewhat." Widowhood and uncertain finances took their toll.

[72] Johnson to Fayerweather, 16 November 1847; A.H. Fayerweather, Honolulu, to John O. Dominis, San Francisco, 9 April 1849, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 105). Fayerweather wrote, "In regard to the amount of your father's debts I have no means of knowing – I believe he owed Russell & Co. (by their acct) about $4500, and there are two years interest on it – In addition to this … Farnham & Co. have put in a claim of $1500 or thereabouts…" Fayerweather also discussed the possibility of insurance on the *William Neilson*, but that prospect was dimmed by the dissolution of the firm C. Brewer & Co. and a back and forth among the former partners of who owed whom. In August of 1849, Fayerweather again wrote to John Dominis saying that both claims (from Russell & Co. and Farnham & Co.) would eventually have to be paid, arguing Dominis had no case for a dispute despite favoring Farnham over Russell. Both accounts were just. Fayerweather to Dominis, 27 August 1849.

[73] That the boarders were a necessity – and an option women could pursue to make ends meet – is attested by a letter some years later wherein the author comments that a Mrs. Green was returning to the islands to open a boarding house because her husband was insane and destitute; Green's husband died shortly thereafter and she "was to take boarders." L.S. Spencer to Mary Dominis, 3 July 1868 and 18 February 1869, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 9, folders 91-92).

papers."[74] The 50th anniversary of Mary Dominis's arrival in Honolulu was announced in the newspaper with the note that the Royal Hawaiian Band would serenade her at 8:30 in the morning and would play again at the afternoon reception. The event was described as an "unusual scene of gaiety at Washington Place" with a steady flow of visitors. There were refreshments served and musical entertainment for guests. Attendees included "leading citizens" and representatives of the diplomatic corps.[75] Mary Dominis, therefore, cultivated her place in Honolulu society through hospitality offered to persons of importance and family friends beginning in 1847; for forty years she kept Washington Place alive with social activities. Its social status (and hers) was aided by a physical proximity to the seat of government, a location that took on a symbolic overtone once David Kalākaua became the sovereign in 1874 and named his sister as his heir in 1877.

Mary Dominis's first social-political coup was in luring Anthony Ten Eyck to Washington Place to board. In November of 1847, the King's Minister of Foreign Relations Robert C. Wyllie wrote to the U.S. Commissioner Anthony Ten Eyck that he "hear[d] you are going to board with my great friend Mary Dominis, thus regularly forestalling me, in something of an intention that I had, …"[76] Wyllie himself would take refuge at Washington Place for several months while he recovered from an illness, beginning in May of 1859.[77] Ten Eyck referenced Washington Place only once, in February of 1848, as the point of origin for his correspondence archived by the State Department, here a private note to Wyllie concerning a draft of a treaty. State Department despatches, and the final inventory of Ten Eyck's office, noted the presence of a flagpole. The inference is that this was the one at Washington Place, where he was living and where he had the Legation office.[78]

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[74] John O. Dominis, Alexander Hotel, Hyde Park Corner, SW, to Mary Dominis, [1887], Lili'uokalani Collection. Emphasis mine.

[75] "The Dominis Reception," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (23 April 1887), 2; "Dominis Reception," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (25 April 1887), 3. Also, "The Dominis Jubilee," *Daily Bulletin* (22 April 1887), Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 4, folder 45).

[76] Robert C. Wyllie, Foreign Office, to Anthony Ten Eyck, Private, 16 November 1847, Hawai'i State Archives (FO & Ex, Box 21, folder 450). Copy on file at Washington Place. Wyllie was then living near the fort, "just at the s[outh]] corner … outside by the water" according to Chester Lyman who visited Wyllie on Monday, January 18th. Lyman spent one and a half hours in Wyllie's library. Lyman, 165.

[77] Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* II: *1854-1874 Twenty Critical Years* (1953; 4th printing, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1982), 85.

[78] Anthony Ten Eyck, Washington Place, to Robert Wyllie, Private, 28 February 1848, NARA; Anthony Ten Eyck, Office of U.S. Commission, Honolulu, to James Buchanan, Despatch No. 7, 5 November 1846, NARA; Anthony Ten Eyck, Office of U.S. Commission, Honolulu, to James Buchanan, Despatch No. 27, 31 December 1847, NARA; Inventory, 12 January 1850, NARA. This inference is supported by Gilman who stated that "His Excy the Am Comiss to [illegible word] his flag here – and His Maj was pleased at his

Ten Eyck's wife, Harriet, died of consumption in November of 1847, so it is likely that his plans to board with the Dominis family were made in response to this tragedy, coinciding as it did with the completion of the Dominis house.[79] That they were living independently is suggested by Ten Eyck's complaints the previous October that living in Honolulu was proving so expensive, the costs "so enormous that I find my salary … hardly adequate to support my family practicing the most rigid economy…"[80] Even so, Harriet Ten Eyck managed her household with some skill for she was remembered as having "been long enough among the [foreign] community to have her worth appreciated & uniting rare accomplishments of mind with an ease and affability – she won the Golden Opinion of all who had seen her, and was uncommonly adapted to have taken the lead which her station would justify. 'Death loves a shining mark' was exemplified in her removal." Large numbers gathered to pay their respects and to process to the cemetery; the King sent his carriage for the family to use.[81] Ten Eyck had two children, a son who died on April 28th, the anniversary of which must have weighed heavily on Ten Eyck as he declined attending the opening of the legislature on that date in 1847, and a young daughter who survived a shipwreck in the spring of 1848.[82]

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request to have the premises known hereafter as the Washington House as it was named on 22nd Feby." Gilman, 145.

[79] Judd, 131; [Obituary and Funeral Notice], *Polynesian* (7 November 1847), 101. The text reads, "Died Friday last of consumption Mrs. Harriett F. Ten Eyck, aged 31 years. Funeral today." Chester Lyman paid social calls on Ten Eyck while he was in Honolulu, giving a glimpse into the Commissioner's circle. He wrote that, on a Tuesday (February 23rd), he "Took tea & spent the eve at Mr. Ten Eyck's (US Com) 3 or 4 of the Miss[ionarie]s & their ladies only there. Miss Johnson, who came out in company with his family is a talkative being, & apparently intelligent." Lyman, 166. A letter written sometime later noted that Miss Johnson was to marry Ten Eyck. Letter to Mary Dominis, 7 November 1851, Liliʻuokalani Collection, Hawaiʻi State Archives (M-93, box 9, folder 89).

[80] Anthony Ten Eyck, Office of U.S. Commission, to James Buchanan, Despatch No. 8, 20 December 1846, NARA; *Polynesian* (7 November 1846): 101; Anthony Ten Eyck, Office of U.S. Commission, to James Buchanan, Despatch No. 5, 1 October 1846, NARA.

[81] Gilman, 143. Laura Judd concurred with Gilman's assessment of Harriet Ten Eyck's personality, commenting that she was "very pleasant." Judd, 131.

[82] Anthony Ten Eyck, Office of U.S. Commission, to James Buchanan, Despatch No. 31, 2 March 1848, NARA; Anthony Ten Eyck to Robert C. Wyllie, No. 55, 2 March 1848, NARA; Anthony Ten Eyck to Robert C. Wyllie, No. 21, 27 April 1847, NARA. In a letter to Buchanan written en route to Honolulu, Ten Eyck said his family consisted of his wife, a lady companion, a friend, himself, two children (son of eight years, a little daughter of fourteen months of age), and a nurse. Anthony Ten Eyck, New York, to James Buchanan, 23 September 1845, James K. Polk Papers, Library of Congress (microfilm series 2/reel 41). From this, it does not appear that he and Harriet had any other children while in Hawaiʻi.

Ten Eyck resigned, although he first threatened to do so as early as May of 1847, in 1848. He re-stated his intent to leave his post in September of 1849 as he expected to leave for the United States the following month. Ten Eyck ultimately remained in Honolulu until January of 1850, a delay incurred as he waited for his successor's arrival and transition into office. Anxious about his future, in November of 1849, Ten Eyck wrote to the State Department that he had read in the newspaper that his resignation was accepted and that Charles Eames was named as his replacement. He learned, though, that Eames was not coming to Hawai'i and that he was staying in San Francisco after concluding an agreement with Dr. Judd regarding Hawaiian-American relations.[83] Ten Eyck most likely remained in residence at Washington Place until his much-anticipated departure from the islands.

Although Ten Eyck intended on leaving Honolulu as early as 1848, it was John O. Dominis (the Captain's and Mary's son) who first vacated Washington Place. He departed, heading for the west coast of the United States and ultimately landing in San Francisco where he found employment as a bookkeeper or clerk by March of 1849. Dominis obtained the position with G.B. Post based on his relationship with S.H. Williams, Post's partner, and his work for Williams as a bookkeeper.[84] Likely, pressing financial concerns prompted his relocation. But despite hopes that Dominis may "like the place better" in time, letters from friends also reveal that young John Dominis had fathered a child, a boy born to a Native Hawaiian named Kepo'okalani,[85] and that he pursued other young ladies. It is possible, then,

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[83] Anthony Ten Eyck, Office of U.S. Commission, to Secretary of State, Despatch No. 15, May 1847, Despatch No. 59, NARA; Anthony Ten Eyck, Office of U.S. Commission, to Secretary of State, September 1849, NARA; and Anthony Ten Eyck, Office of U.S. Commission, to Secretary of State, Despatch No. 61, 19 November 1849, NARA. Also, *Affairs in Hawaii*, 13.

[84] Fayerweather to Dominis, 9 April 1849; Roy H. Clemens, *John Owen Dominis: Distinguished Freemason of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Masonic Public Library, 1981). Clemens stated that firm's name was Post, Parker, and Ruffin; it should be verified as letters to Dominis suggest the presence of a Mr. Baker rather than a Mr. Parker, for example. The last name, Ruffin, also was difficult to discern. Various correspondents asked Dominis to remember them to individuals associated with Dominis's work. These were Mr. Baker, Mr. Post, and Mr. Abel, together; were again to Post and Baker, and also Mr. Cook; and then to Mr. Post alone. Wilson to Dominis, 13 October 1849; Robertson to Dominis, 4 June 1849; Fayerweather to Dominis, 27 August 1849. From correspondence it can be argued that Dominis worked with A.H. Fayerweather for Williams; Dominis's replacement was a Mr. Field. Friends of Dominis thought Fayerweather tedious, as comments after his wife died reveal. Nor did Dominis's circle think much of Captain Meek's son. Dominis is also said to have returned to Honolulu and worked for C. Brewer & Co., the shipping agents with whom his father dealt and to whom his father's estate was indebted, as well as R. Coady and Company. "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan," Sec. 2-27.

[85] Robertson to Dominis, 3 September 1849; Fayerweather to Dominis, 27 August 1849; T. Cummins to John O. Dominis, 13 April 1850, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, folder 105). Robertson's letter of June of 1849 is more explicit: "… Also Pokalhanni [sic] sends her best love to you & to say she long for to see you back, for to have a kiss from those sweet lips, also to have the pleasure of your …, her child also looks well, …" Robertson to Dominis, 4 June 1849, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 105). In a somewhat chauvinistic vein, he continued noting

that even the indulgent Mary Dominis sent John to San Francisco to both earn a living and to separate him from friends who had little of consequence to do after eleven o'clock and much socializing to conduct.[86] And while the Hawaiian mother of his child hoped for his return, at least one haole father requested that Dominis not contact his daughter again. In this instance, the outraged parent said that the love letter an infatuated Dominis penned was improper and impertinent, enough to make a "modest" young woman blush, and disrespectful. This same family, the Motts, resettled in Honolulu in 1851 and so the girls, who were described to John at that time as "looking charmingly," were back in Dominis's social set.[87]

Once in San Francisco, Dominis settled into his business affairs. He was chided by a Honolulu chum for his causal dress (a red flannel shirt) and for his emphasis on work rather than play.[88] Dominis was urged to return, to help alleviate the dullness of Honolulu although his correspondent admitted it held little appeal. He said the city was "as dusty as ever, with Punch Bowl Hill at the back." Another correspondent, who was helping John settle the Captain's accounts, advised Dominis to stay in San Francisco as the opportunities at home were limited to

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that the Native Hawaiian woman also looked well, "oh how fat & amiable she looks, but I forebear for sake of poor John who was a friend of mine." He apparently chose not to pursue her, not because she missed Dominis but because of his friendship with him, disregarding her possible feelings on the matter. In December of 1860, W.F. Allen wrote Dominis that since Dominis "thought it best to give up Akino" [sic] he was pleased that Dominis "did not entirely desert her, but still support her that I consider right." Dominis later wrote to Allen for his opinion on marriage; Allen replied that he "no experience except in what is called convenient matrimony" and to make a good selection if he must wed. W.F. Allen to John O. Dominis, 13 December 1860, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 107).

[86] By all accounts, Mary Dominis was very attached to her son. She would have let him go to San Francisco because their finances dictated it, though arguably it is unlikely she would have denied him the chance if moving there was something he wanted. Once John Dominis was in San Francisco, his mother was disappointed he did not write her as frequently as she wanted. He was admonished, "you ought to write her often. She thinks every thing of you and you should remember that you are now her only child." Fayerweather to Dominis, 27 August 1849. Lili'uokalani comments on John's filial duty, noting he "would not swerve to one side or to the other in any matter where there was danger of hurting his mother's feelings. I respected the closeness of the tie between mother and son, …" Lili'uokalani, 23-24.

[87] J.T. Mott, Mazatlan, to John O. Dominis, San Francisco, 15 March 1849, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, folder 105); Letter to John O. Dominis, San Francisco, 18 October 1851, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, folder 106).

[88] Jas Doswell, Honolulu, to John O. Dominis, San Francisco, 22 August 1849, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, folder 105). California was also something of a rough and tumble kind of place during the gold rush, and a certain amount of lawlessness prevailed. Dominis's obituary noted he was in California during the gold rush, although there was nothing in the letters to suggest he was mining – red flannel shirt or not! "Husband of Hawaii's Queen Dead," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (6 September 1891), 9; "The Pacific Islands: Death of Dominis, Prince Consort of Hawaii," *Los Angeles Times* (6 September 1891), 4.

those paying very low wages.[89] Still another wrote that he understood Dominis's desire to be someplace more exciting, and understood San Francisco to be "the only place for a man to do anything…"[90] Nonetheless, Dominis had some business on the islands involving cattle and sold at least one horse.[91]

The San Francisco in which John Dominis lived and toiled was commendable for its "fine large bay" and appealing for its "gold dust and quicksilver" rather than for any trappings of cosmopolitan living. It was "a cold … barren looking place & interesting only, as bearing upon the prosperity of the Country, and in that sense gives one pleasure; but divest it of its valuable mines & the neighborhood of the Town is somewhat revolting to those who have been accustomed to dwell in Cities possessed of magnificent parks & gaudy palaces…"[92] Dominis returned to Honolulu and Washington Place in the early 1850s, possibly as early as the fall of 1850 for his friend Cummins had written in August that he was glad to hear that Dominis had decided to work for Everett & Co.[93] Once back in Honolulu, he lived in Washington Place until his death in 1891.

Although John Dominis returned to Washington Place, he came back to Honolulu as a mature, young man assuming not only the responsibilities associated with his career but also those of his father's estate and so then of his mother.[94] He resumed his school-day friendships with the ali'i, particularly with Prince Lot. He became engaged to Lydia Kamaka'eha Pākī, and after a two-year betrothal, they married in 1862. King Kamehameha IV appointed Dominis to the position of Adjutant General in 1861, and King Kamehameha V made Dominis "his private secretary and confidential advisor" shortly after succeeding to the throne. Dominis later became the royal Governor of O'ahu, a position he held until his death; in addition he served, for a time, as the royal Governor of Maui and as the Commissioner for the Administration of the Crown Lands. He represented

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[89] The limited job market in Honolulu was part of the fall-out from the standoff between the French and the Hawaiian government in 1849-50 that effectively curtailed commerce while the Admiral bullied the Hawaiian leaders.

[90] Fayerweather to Dominis, 27 August 1849; John Chadick, Exeter, to John O. Dominis, 5 May 1850, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, folder 106).

[91] Robertson to Dominis, 3 September 1849.

[92] J.C. Gummer to Robert C. Wyllie, 23 December 1848, Robert C. Wyllie Papers, Hawai'i State Archives (M-162, folder 5). Anthony Ten Eyck describes California in the middle of the gold rush; see Ten Eyck, San Francisco, Despatch No. 39, August 1848, NARA.

[93] T. Cummins, O'ahu, to John O. Dominis, to the care of S.H. Williams, San Francisco, 22 August 1850, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 106).

[94] See, for example, Indenture, 17 October 1859, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 106), in addition to the correspondence with Fayerweather.

Hawai'i as part of King Kalākaua's retinue in 1874, visiting the United States in regard to the proposed reciprocity treaty, and again in 1887, visiting the U.S. and Great Britain. The latter journey was undertaken in honor of Queen Victoria's Jubilee. By that time, Dominis had also been inducted into the Masonic lodge. During Lili'uokalani's reign, he held the rank of Lieutenant Governor of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and was then known as His Royal Highness Prince Consort. Lili'uokalani expressed her dismay that his death so soon after her ascension to the throne robbed her of an advisor with long experience in public life.[95] As further testimony of Dominis's growing stature and capabilities, he was a member of the Privy Council and House of Nobles, a member of the boards of Health, of Education, and of Immigration, and held the post of Commissioner and Agent of the Crown Lands.[96]

Another boarder, who thought of John O. Dominis as a friend was Henry Wilson. In writing to Dominis, Wilson refers to "… those pleasant days so full of happiness, when I was treated by your mother as a son, and by the Ladies, living with me under the same roof, as an acquaintance of long standing." Wilson wanted John Dominis to tell his mother that he had "attempted a … description of 'Washington Place' and its charming site and grounds … [he] had even essayed a drawing of the House and grounds." Wilson lost some of his notes[97] and asked Dominis to send him "the exact length and width of the main building – and the length, width and height of the drawing room up stairs. Also, I would thank you for the generic name of the different kind of trees in the garden and grounds…Be so good, if not too much trouble, and acquaint me with the time when, and measure, and by whom, your magnificent dwelling was dignified by the title of 'Washington Place.' I think you told me that Mr. Ten Eyck had something to do with it." Wilson continues, inquiring if Ten Eyck had returned and to be remembered "to him with much respect." Apparently they shared a fondness for Madeira; the timing of Wilson's correspondence places him in the house, boarding at the same time as Ten Eyck.[98]

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[95] Lili'uokalani, 28-29, 160-63, 220-25. Another source (Clemens) indicates that he may have been the private secretary to Kamehameha IV as well; the Queen did not mention this office so I omitted it in the main body of the text.

[96] On these offices, as well as the posts Dominis entered into during the reign of Kamehameha IV, Corinne Chun Fujimoto to Virginia B. Price, electronic communication, May 2008.

[97] Wilson's drawing is also lost – nor is Dominis's reply known.

[98] Henry Wilson, US Ship *Preble*, At Sea, to John O. Dominis, 20 August 1848, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, Box 11, folder 104). According to his despatches written to the State Department, Ten Eyck was on sick leave to California at that time.

Another early boarder was Captain B.F. Snow.[99] Wilson also referred to Mrs. Snow in his correspondence, providing circumstantial evidence of their time together at Washington Place, and placing them in the same Honolulu social circuit. Wilson later wrote that he "was occupying the room formerly Mr. Baker – it is cool and delightful here. I live at Washington Place, …"[100] Susan Pierce, another acquaintance, stayed at Washington Place for five months; Pierce went onto Charleston and called on Dominis's sister there in 1850.[101]

William Little Lee, a justice of the Superior Court of Law and Equity and President of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles (better known as the Land Commission), married Catherine E. Newton in 1849 and they boarded at Washington Place until they decided to set up housekeeping on their own.[102] Although no reference is made to Ten Eyck's presence in the household, Catherine Lee writes in September of 1849 of their "boarding place" in the "family of a widow lady (Mrs. Dominis)."[103] They stayed at Washington Place for five years. Catherine's description of their accommodations had the Lees "pleasantly situated as boarders can be, having five rooms and a nice garden all to

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[99] Richard A. Greer, "Grog Shops and Hotels: Bending the Elbow in Old Honolulu," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 28 (1994): 63.

[100] Wilson to Dominis, 4 September 1849. Presumably this is the same Henry Wilson; the letter is signed with similar sentiment as the earlier missive, but the name abbreviated to "H Wilson." This note was written in haste, however, as the writer sought to get it ready to go with Mary Dominis's package to John. A letter written in October by Henry Wilson to John Dominis referenced his house "on shore" where he was "comfortably situated five or six weeks." The domestic arrangement was about to change as Dr. Hoffman was marrying Miss Morse and so wanted to take "possession of the premises to make all needful repairs." Wilson said that he was unsure what Mrs. Hooper will do, since she intended on "taking the upper room for herself and children (the room I am now writing in) and board with Mrs. Brewer." Wilson to Dominis, 13 October 1849. Earlier, upon his return to Honolulu on the *Preble*, Wilson commented that he had taken tea at Washington Place. Henry Wilson, US Ship *Preble*, Honolulu, to John Dominis, 22 August 1849, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 105).

[101] Susan Pierce to Mary Dominis, 16 June 1850, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, folder 89).

[102] Gilman, 122-23; Barbara E. Dunn, "William Little Lee and Catherine Lee, Letters from Hawai'i, 1848-1855," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 38 (2004): 59-87; Lee mentioned his engagement to Catherine in a letter to Caroline Scott, 1 October 1848. Also, William L. Lee Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-92). Lee's personal papers are sparse, primarily consisting of a certificate of membership in an association in New York and a character reference written for his admittance into the bar. Politically, Lee was elected to the legislature in 1851 and became the Speaker. He also drafted a new Constitution at Kamehameha's request; it was adopted in 1852 and in effect until 1864 when Kamehameha V overturned it as too liberal. Lyman commented on Lee briefly. See p. 164.

[103] Catherine N. Lee, Honolulu, to Caroline Scott, 28 September 1849, reprinted in Dunn, 74.

ourselves, … our new home is a large coral house with verandas on each side, extensive tasteful grounds with plenty of trees and shrubbery, …"[104]

In 1853, and so overlapping with the Lees' tenure, Curtis Perry Ward stayed with the widow Dominis upon his arrival in Honolulu. He lived in a corner room on the second floor of Washington Place for several years. Shortly thereafter (by ca. 1855) W.C. Parke and his wife, Annie Severence, moved into Washington Place; Parke was the Marshall for the kingdom and Severence was the daughter of the American Commissioner.[105] Mary Dominis entertained a variety of guests for dinner, travelers from abroad as well as the local or "stationary" residents as Catherine Lee called those who lived in town. Allegedly invitations to dinner at Washington Place were available for a "set price," revealing another way Dominis capitalized on her trademark hospitality to make ends meet.[106] In 1855, for example, David Gregg who was then the Commissioner wrote of a dinner party given by a Mr. Allen at Washington Place.[107] Elisha H. Allen, the host of the party that evening, was the U.S. Consul from 1852 until 1856. He went onto

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[104] Catherine N. Lee, Honolulu, to Caroline Scott, 16 April 1854, reprinted in Dunn 86-87. They left Hawai'i in 1855, seeking medical attention for William. They returned, however, and William Lee died there in 1857. Catherine went to New York and eventually remarried. Incidentally, both Lees promoted a sugar reciprocity treaty between the U.S. and Hawai'i, and Catherine continued to lobby for it. She died in 1894.

[105] Helena G. Allen, *The Betrayal of Lili'uokalani, Last Queen of Hawaii 1838-1917* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1981), 79. Severence served as Commissioner from his arrival in 1851 to 1853, when David Gregg was appointed; the Gregg family arrived in Honolulu in December. Gregg's appointment lasted until March of 1858 when James Borden succeeded him.

[106] Frank Ward Hustace, III, *Victoria Ward and Her Family: Memories of Old Plantation* (Honolulu: Victoria Ward, Limited, 2000), 21, 24. That money was still a concern in the 1850s when Ward was boarding is evidenced by an indenture for $1859 taken in October of 1859 and a note for an additional $2500 to James Robinson & Crawford to be paid over twelve months at one percent interest. They essentially mortgaged Washington Place (the premises and its tenements) as a form of security for the $2500 owed. The mortgage was released 8 August 1862. See Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 106). The mortgage release occurs about a month before Dominis's wedding to Lili'uokalani. It is likely this connection, directly or indirectly (such as through a more lucrative government position) provided fiduciary benefit to John O. Dominis. Also in an 1850 letter to Mary Dominis, a friend (Susan Pierce) wrote of visiting Mary's sister Snelling and recounted her inquiries as to whether Mary would return home. The author said she thought it would depend on John's "movements" and on if she sold her house. Dominis elected to mortgage the property instead, possibly to stay near her son. Pierce to Dominis, 16 June 1850. An unflattering characterization of Mary Dominis appeared posthumously in the *Boston Daily Globe* wherein it was noted she disapproved of John's marriage. The article stated that Dominis took in boarders and that she lived in a large house. It continued, describing her as "a meddlesome gossip whose bitter tongue caused unhappiness to many." The article was entitled, "Friend of Ex-Queen Lil," though it is unlikely Lili'uokalani would have wanted to be advocated for in such a negative way. This article was also part of the anti-Queen Lili'uokalani propaganda circulating during this critical period. *Boston Daily Globe* (25 September 1898), 34.

[107] *The Diaries of David Lawrence Gregg*, 242.

become Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Chancellor of the Kingdom, a member of the Privy Council of State, His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipontentiary to the United States by 1884.

After her son's marriage to Lydia Kamaka'eha Pākī (later, Lili'uokalani)[108] in 1862, the Dominis dwelling was home to Mary and her daughter-in-law's retinue. Mary Dominis continued to take in friends, or those travelers recommended to her by friends, such as Mrs. Judge Hastings who had a child and a servant and plenty of money to spend freely, as introduced by Aldrich in March of 1867. Another guest wrote to thank her of "kindness to me while staying at your residence," sent her some plants, and asked to be remembered to the Governor John O. Dominis[109] and his wife Lili'uokalani in 1870.[110] Dominis's friend Jane Wright evidently spent time in Washington Place, although whether she boarded there is uncertain, for she asked what the lowest price Dominis would take for the house for "there is not a place in Honolulu I would like better to live in for your sake who has always made it so pleasant to me …"; the letter is merely dated April 26th.[111]

Similarly, C.A. Williams stayed with Dominis while in Honolulu and anticipated a return visit; this time he wished to bring his family with him to stay. Mary Dominis had indicated she would take Williams and his wife whenever they returned, but he was unsure about the welcome of his entire family. Williams's family consisted of his wife, their four-year old son, and daughter almost two years old, plus Julia "… a well-behaved girl that has been with us four years." He requested the "two back rooms up stairs" and if so accommodated, "would feel that we had the best home that it would be possible for us to have…"[112]

In 1889, as Mary Dominis's health declined,[113] a cousin Mrs. E. W. Hitchings then living in San Francisco wrote to John Dominis that Mrs. Vin Haslock, her

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[108] The spelling of Lili'uokalani's given name comes from her autobiography; this differs from the spelling seen on the original HABS documentation (title sheet text).

[109] Dominis was appointed as governor in 1864, soon after Kamehameha V (Prince Lot) ascended to the throne.

[110] Aldrich, San Francisco, to Mary Dominis, 23 March 1867, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, folder 92); Jno. Colyu (Colyer?) to Mary Dominis, 29 November 1870, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, folder 92). The latter wrote again of a "pleasant stay" in March of 1871.

[111] Jane Wright to Mary Dominis, 26 April, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, folder 93).

[112] C.A. Williams, New London, to Mary Dominis, 29 November 1865, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, folder 9-).

[113] Mary Dominis died later that year. "Death of Mrs. Dominis," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (26 April 1889), 3; "Laid to Rest," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (29 April 1889). The newspaper noted that her

daughter Ellen (Haslock), and she "enjoy[ed] a chat about your place" suggesting they were all familiar with Washington Place; as relatives and friends of the family, it is easy to speculate that they would have stayed in the house when in Honolulu. Hitchings also said another of their acquaintance, Nero Bushell, "often sends me a sketch from your place" but in this context Hitchings meant O'ahu rather than Washington Place. The drawing she mentioned was of Diamond Head.[114]

Except for her brief imprisonment in 1895,[115] Lili'uokalani lived in Washington Place from her marriage to John in 1862 until her death in 1917. She did not, however, stay there exclusively. She had inherited some property from her mother, a particularly valuable parcel in Waikīkī, and owned other tracts on Maui as well as on O'ahu.[116] Lili'uokalani moved between these estates with some freedom, as Native Hawaiian ali'i women could do before their status was circumscribed by Anglo-American understandings of gender power relations. That she maintained a measure of her forebears' independence, and that she negotiated social space for herself within the confines of her marriage, is shown through her comments in her diaries from 1887 and 1888 wherein she noted when she was obligated to go to Washington Place to look after her mother-in-law, or at

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rheumatism kept her at home since 1876. Edward May wrote of his pleasant stay in the house in 1868; the following year D.C. Murray and John E. Hubbard thanked Dominis for kindness during their visits and in 1870 E.C. Snow wrote of the comfort found in the garden. In 1874, a letter referenced the death of a boarder. Besides a George Shipley who left his baggage behind in October of 1869, these letters are the latest, direct references to Washington Place boarders per se. May to Dominis, 18 July 1868, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 9, folder 91); Murray to Dominis, 12 September 1869, Hubbard to Dominis, 9 October 1869, and Snow to Dominis, 30 August 1870, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 9, folder 92). Kitty wrote to Dominis, also in 1869, of enjoying time in the beautiful garden at Washington Place, admiring things as she walked around and watching the passers-by. Kitty to Mary Dominis, 15 December 1869, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 9, folder 92). Other relatives wrote, such as her nephew John Dominis Holt, of the house being a "perfect paradise" but it is unclear if those were personal observations or second-hand impressions. John Dominis Holt to Mary Dominis, 8 January 1866, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 9, folder 90).

[114] Mrs. E.W. Hitchings, San Francisco, to John O. Dominis, Honolulu, 4 April 1889, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 109).

[115] The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* article on Washington Place appeared shortly after Lili'uokalani's imprisonment. References to the desk, from which her papers and diaries were taken, and to John Dominis's office, containing his gun collection and walking sticks, as well as to the native furnishings and refinement of the house suggest that the invitation to the reporter was part of Lili'uokalani's effort to counter the negative propaganda circulating about her at the time.

[116] Lili'uokalani, 226; Estate Taxes, Land Books, &c., Lili'uokalani Trust Records, Hawai'i State Archives (M-397, box 3). She inherited the property from her mother in 1859, who had received it during the Māhele, and Lili'uokalani augmented it with additional tracts during her lifetime. Her cottage by the sea was called Kealohilani; that on the mountain side was Paoakalani. The Kealohilani parcel was what her nephew Kūhiō sought as his inheritance.

times John Dominis himself, by the 1880s.[117] Moreover, in 1883, Mary Dominis's caregiver noted, "Governor Dominis brought me to this pleasant house, which is alike the home of his mother and of Princess Lili'uokalani, his wife. The latter occupies her own suite of apartments."[118]

In Hawai'i a "suite of apartments" could be an interior arrangement in the Anglo-American tradition or a separate dwelling altogether following the Native Hawaiian cultural pattern. As early as 1819, Louis Claude de Saulses de Freycinet describes his time in Hawai'i, particularly noting the king's one-room, grass dwelling that was surprisingly cool inside and then noting how they proceeded to the "adjoining house" for dining. Freycinet wrote that the lodging for the affluent consisted of three adjacent huts serving as gender-segregated dining rooms and a bedroom. He observed that the three-part living quarters were enclosed with hedges or a palisade on occasion.[119] Some ten years later another visitor, Captain Jacobus Boelen, commented on the many outbuildings in the governor's domestic complex (for servants more so than service) and the King's compound. The palace was really "a few separate buildings of different styles and sizes, set closely together."[120]

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[117] Lili'uokalani, Diary, 7 & 18 January, 14 & 16 & 20 & 22 November, 11 December 1887; and Lili'uokalani, Diary, 23 & 30 January, 12 February, 15 May, 4 June, 31 July, 10 & 27 September, 21 November 1888. In June of 1888 Lili'uokalani observed twice that she had to go to Washington Place and had to stay in Hīnano Bower, the cottage on the grounds. By that time, it held less appeal than when, as a bride, she had no options for social space to call her own. In January of 1887 she wrote with some surprise that John "actually" kissed her, after an argument in which she conceded and apologized. Also, that November she wrote it was the first time all year her husband "had been attentive." Lili'uokalani's marriage to John was advantageous to Dominis, securing his place in the royal set socially as well as procuring government offices that generated much-needed income. Dominis was stricken with rheumatism and so often quite ill. By the 1880s the illness of both John and his mother made her responsible for their care, a responsibility that only increased with time. By the 1881, when Lili'uokalani served as regent, the royal family physician George Trousseau was said to have described Dominis as "not always at her side," as "an irregular husband who had affairs but never a regular mistress and who caused her great unhappiness by his inconsistencies." Queen Emma, Lili'uokalani's and Kalākaua's rival, did not discuss Lili'uokalani's marriage in her diaries, yet the book drawn from them offers the suggestion that maybe Lili'uokalani preferred being alone (in contrast to the loving marriage of Emma that produced a son). The book about Queen Emma also suggests Emma found John boring. She apparently "sent him away" so she would not have to listen to his "dreary stories" on at least one occasion. The description of Dominis – coming from a political rival – offers a glimpse into how he was perceived, or how he matured from the philandering socialite portrayed in letters dating to 1849-50. Lili'uokalani, for her part, discussed his achievements and kept whatever disappointment she may have had in her personal life to herself. George S. Kanahele, *Emma: Hawaii's Remarkable Queen* (Honolulu: Queen Emma Foundation, 1999).

[118] "Perseverance Rewarded," *Friend* (1 August 1883): 68.

[119] *Hawaii in 1819: A Narrative Account by Louis Claude de Saulses de Freycinet*, translated by Ella L. Wiswell, Pacific Anthropological Records No. 26 (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1978).

[120] *A Merchant's Perspective*, 36, 56-58.

This lay-out also characterized the Palace Yard in Honolulu, wherein cottages were erected to either side of ʻIolani Palace for Kamehameha III and his Queen to use as apartments.[121] His successor, Kamehameha IV, and Queen Emma continued to use the buildings that way, which meant the palace was utilized only on state occasions. It was expected that Liliʻuokalani and John Dominis would perpetuate the practice as evidenced in a 1861 letter, wherein the author wrote to Dominis concerning his engagement, saying that he wanted to be there for the wedding and wondered if the couple would "reside with [Mary Dominis] or in the palace yard."[122] When Liliʻuokalani became the monarch, John stayed in a one-story bungalow, built and used by King Kalākaua on the Palace grounds since his rheumatism was so advanced that the Palace's stairs posed a problem. This solution was a reversal to that she crafted for herself earlier at Washington Place; there she had a one-story cottage with a lānai called Hīnano Bower located to the Waikīkī side of the main house.[123]

A fleeting reference to the domestic staff at Washington Place, the people employed there who helped Mary Dominis run the busy household, came in a 1866 letter from W.H. Allen to John O. Dominis wherein Allen states Mary Dominis is feeling better "but has no cook as yet..."[124] In 1888, at which time Mary Dominis's health was failing, a woman named Rebecca looked after her. In her diary Liliʻuokalani mentioned that Rebecca packed up and left Washington Place, apparently as a result of John O. Dominis shooting pigeons. As a result of Rebecca's departure in September of 1888, Liliʻuokalani had to go to the house. While she was there, she checked in "all the deserted rooms" and noted they were all clean. She then asked Mary Cooke to stay. Cooke did not have to cover Rebecca's duties for long; Milaina [Ahia] and Mary Mahoe agreed to take Rebecca's rooms several days later. Presumably they also assumed Rebecca's

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[121] Peterson, 92, who cites Lyman's comments from 15 May 1846; Gilman, 43; *Polynesian* (25 September 1847). Also, Bob Dye, *Merchant Prince of the Sandalwood Mountains: Afong and the Chinese in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1997), 15; Theodore Adolphe Barrot, *Unless Haste Is Made: A French Skeptic's Account of the Sandwich Islands in 1836*, translated by Daniel Dole (Kailua: Press Pacifica, 1978), 66. Barrot discussed the king's house in 1836. He said it was "situated at the extremity of an extensive court, surrounded as are all the houses of this country, by a wall of bricks dried in the sun. In this enclosure are nearly fifty huts, which serve for kitchens, store-houses, lodgings for the king's servants, and barracks for the soldiers." This 1836 description also places the arrangement of the ʻIolani Palace grounds within that tradition of many small, purpose-built structures making a whole. Barrot did not, however, elaborate on the gender segregation within the complex.

[122] M.H. Lawton, San Francisco, to John O. Dominis, 19 August 1861, Liliʻuokalani Collection, Hawaiʻi State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 107).

[123] On the bungalow for John Dominis, see Liliʻuokalani, 226-27.

[124] W.H. Allen, Custom House, Honolulu, to John Dominis, 24 September 1866, Liliʻuokalani Collection, Hawaiʻi State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 107).

responsibilities.[125] From this exchange, it is obvious Lili'uokalani's primary residence is not Washington Place – it still being the house of her mother-in-law – and that the once-full household had dwindled.

In December of 1888 Lili'uokalani remarked that she stayed at Washington Place, and that Kaipo and Aimoku were there with her, again leaving the impression "home" was elsewhere and the house was no longer brimming with boarders and staff. Similarly, some years later, in 1894, Lili'uokalani recorded the only people in Washington Place on Christmas Day were Jennie Clark, who was a lady-in-waiting, herself, and the servants.[126] At this time, however, Washington Place was hers – Mary and John Dominis had died – and Lili'uokalani lived in the house in seclusion waiting action by the United States on the 1893 overthrow of her government. It was a refuge and a prison combined, populated mostly by retainers and servants.[127]

A census taken in 1896 identified twenty-three people, men and women aged five to eighty, living at Washington Place with the Queen. Lili'uokalani was listed as a fifty-seven year old Hawaiian female. Under the "occupation" category, and beside the Queen's name, the census taker wrote the Hawaiian word *pau*; translated this means "finished." Recorded so soon after the overthrow of the monarchy and the Queen's release from prison, the implication of *pau* is quite explicit.[128]

Names of the Queen's servants, plus those of her retainers, appear in various letters and account books albeit generally in connection with a task to be completed or as a financial responsibility of the Queen. For example, in 1899 as the Queen was preparing to return to Honolulu from Washington, DC, where she lobbied for compensation for the loss of the kingdom and of the crown lands as well as lobbied on behalf of the Hawaiian people, she corresponded with J.O.

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[125] Lili'uokalani, Diary, 25-29 September 1888. The Queen did not say where specifically "Rebecca's rooms" were in the house, or if they were in the house at all. Rebecca could have had rooms in one of the cottages on the grounds. Because Rebecca cared for Mary Dominis toward the end of Dominis's life, and so after the boarding house tenor of Washington Place had faded, it could be argued that Rebecca had rooms in Washington Place proper.

[126] Lili'uokalani, Diary, 25-26 December 1894.

[127] In 1895, for example, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported that Lili'uokalani had remained primarily in seclusion at Washington Place, mostly in her bedroom excepting occasional walks on the lānai and to the dining room. "An Historical Residence," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (9 March 1895), 1.

[128] 1896 Census, Hawai'i State Archives. (microfilm). In her book, the Queen wrote that all of her retainers living on her various properties were arrested the day after she was. About forty people were taken to jail, including her agent and property manager at the time, Joseph Heleluhe. Lili'uokalani, 270-71.

Carter and sent along her instructions for readying the house. An employee named Wakeki was to wash the house and then put down matting.[129]

In 1905, the Queen paid nine servants, six of whom worked for her performing various domestic duties. These included several she identified as Japanese: Iosida [Yoshida?], who was the cook; Sikioka, who was a stable boy; Ioneka [Yoneka], who was a yard boy; Fugi [Fujimoto], who also was a yard boy; and Mohita, who was a yard boy as well. Others were Anaole, who did the washing; Namaka; Hana; and Mrs. Heleluhe. The following year Lili'uokalani noted wages paid to several servants: Mrs. Kanani Aea $3; Mrs. Fugi [Fujimoto] – hana pau $4.50; Hana – hana pau $4.50; Kanane $3; Iangawa [Yanagawa?] no Muolaulani $5; Ah Chang $5; Kosila $4; and Namaka $1.50.[130] Washington Place hummed with activity and housed many. In time, perhaps, more of their names will be revealed.

By 1909, at least two Japanese men were working, and most likely living, at Washington Place: Mr. Morisato and Hikosuke Fujimoto. Morisato urged Hikosuke to move to Honolulu after the latter completed his three-year labor contract at Hakalau Sugar Plantation. Morisato already worked for the Queen; his friend would subsequently join him there. In 1916 Hikosuke married Kikuyo Murashige and the newlyweds occupied a downstairs portion of "the back cottage," a structure that included a large washhouse. Kikuyo's recollections of Washington Place in 1988 were that it "hadn't changed much" since she first saw the place. She remembered two other Japanese couples living on the grounds: Monji Watanabe was the cook and his wife did the laundry and housecleaning; Mr. Okihiro was a yardman and his wife, with Monji's, laundered clothes and kept house for the Queen. It is likely the Watanabe and Okihiro families were the two living above the hakku (or hack) stables. Mr. Sato worked with Okihiro in the yard. Kikuyo's husband, Hikosuke, was the Queen's steward. Kaipo [Aea], the Queen's hānai, or adopted son, lived in a cottage (that also doubled as a garage) on the property as well. The Queen employed an office boy, Miyake-san, but Kikuyo did not specify whether he lived at Washington Place or not. There were also Native Hawaiian servants; one couple, a Native Hawaiian named Malo and

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[129] Lili'uokalani to Carter, 9 October 1899; List, ca. 1905. Also, when the Queen was in Washington, DC, she mentioned Alfred a cook and Carrie a maid while living at O Street. Lili'uokalani, Diary, 10 January 1902, Bishop Museum.

[130] Lili'uokalani, Diary 20 April 1906. Earlier in 1906, the Queen mentioned an altercation between Namaka and Yoshida wherein Yoshida "struck" Namaka and the Queen had to send Yoshida away. Lili'uokalani also noted the "new cook" would arrive the next morning. Lili'uokalani, Diary 15 January 1906. The Japanese names of the Queen's servants reflected the population of the islands. Chinese laborers were brought in for the sugar plantations; Japanese soon followed. By the third quarter of the nineteenth century racial tensions, and hysteria, caused some to fear Hawai'i was becoming a colony of Asia. This argument was actually used as a pretext for the U.S. to annex the islands – to prevent it from happening as the Asian émigrés would then be subject to the American exclusionary laws. Laura Judd wisely pooh-poohed this notion in the 1880s, observing the laborers' value to agriculture, both sugar and rice plantations, and so to commerce. At that time there were maybe eight to ten thousand workers. Judd, 204.

his wife, lived "in a cottage right below us." Kikuyo similarly remembered the Queen hired a driver; she thought maybe he was Portuguese.[131] Perhaps it was not this driver the future territorial governor, Lawrence M. Judd, referred to in his autobiography, but Judd did single out the Queen's coachman for description. The coachman, Judd recalled, wore his hat over his eyes and held a whip. His presence added to Judd's boyhood memory of the Queen before the overthrow of the monarchy.[132]

The Queen held other properties during her lifetime, but it was Washington Place that was associated with her after the monarchy's overthrow.[133] This connection undoubtedly influenced her nephew Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniʻanaole, when he suggested, after her death in 1917, that Washington Place should become the territorial governor's house, and as such, also could serve as a tribute to the Queen and to the Kalākaua dynasty.[134] With such ceremonial and symbolic duality, the house then becomes associated with both the U.S. governors and Hawaiian royalty. Between 1922 and 2002, Hawaii's territorial and state governors and their families lived in the house. Territorial governors include Charles J. McCarthy (1918-21), Wallace R. Farrington (to 1929), Lawrence M. Judd (to 1934), Joseph B. Poindexter (to 1942), Ingram M. Stainback (to 1951), Oren E. Long (to 1953), and Samuel W. King (1953-57). Hawaiian statehood was approved by the U.S. Congress in 1959, making William F. Quinn the last Territorial governor appointed by the President to serve (1957-59) and the first elected governor of the state (1959-62). His successors, who lived in Washington Place, were John A. Burns (to 1974), George R. Aryioshi (to 1986), John Waiheʻe (to 1994), Benjamin J. Cayetano (to 2002).

4. Builder, contractor, suppliers: Dominis's accounts record various artisans working for or with Isaac Hart on the property, such as the myriad of receipts

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[131] Barbara Kawakami, "'Picture Bride' Kikuyo Fujimoto," *Hawaiʻi Herald* (Friday 6 January 2006), B1, B3-4. Kikuyo was also interviewed for an oral history project entitled "Interviews with Ladies Who Knew the Queen." This interview repeats much of what was printed in the "Picture Bride" article. The oral history interviews are recorded on a CD, a copy of which is available at Washington Place.

[132] *Lawrence M. Judd and Hawaii*, an autobiography told by Hugh W. Lytle (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1971), 54-57. Judd also mentioned guards – those who supposedly kept him from hopping the fence – and Liliʻuokalani was said to have gently, and not without humor, to have reminded the child the guards were to keep her in rather than to keep him (or his schoolmates) out.

[133] See, for example, the entry for "Liliʻuokalani, Queen" in the *Social Directory of Honolulu 1913-14*, 14. The same listing has C.P. Iaukea and his wife living on Hassinger Street, Prince J. Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole and his wife at 2442 Kalakaua Avenue, and Princess Kawananokoa residing at 1438 Pensacola Street. p. 12.

[134] Liliʻuokalani Trust Records, Hawaiʻi State Archives (M-397, folder 1: Kūhiō Claims). The altruistic character to Kūhiō's recommendation is suggested in Lydecker, *History of Washington Place*; see also, "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan," Sec. 2-39.

from Israel Wright for painting[135] and Danielli Ganez[136] for mason work, as well as unnamed, *kanaka* laborers. Both Wright and Ganez had written contracts. Between June of 1846 and November of 1847, C. Brewer & Co. maintained an account for Dominis; after his disappearance, his attorney Francis Johnson paid the bills.[137] Other contractors and suppliers include the following individuals and firms:

Geo. T. Allan (iron pump, 1847); William Baker (screws); John Beatty (tin conductors, 4 lead pipes (July 1847); work on conductor, repairs 3 carriage lamps (Nov), 1847); Thos L. Cook (labor, 1847); William Duncan (blacksmith, 32 sets of blind hinges per agreement; work on carriage, horses feet, iron for lintel, ground (fire?) dogs, dampers, 1846-47); Henry Dunston (stock lock, 1847); Wm. French (100 coral stones, 1846); Thomas Gandall (moves furniture, carts clay and sand, 1846; hauls lumber received by Hart from C. Brewer & Co., 1847); Henry Garrison (plasters and whitewashes adobe house, 1847); James Hassell (blacksmith, 36 catches for blinds, 2 mortise fastenings for blinds, double plates,

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[135] Beginning in February of 1847, Israel Wright was contracted for work done at the Dominis house, adjacent to those known as Beretania. His subsequent invoice was dated March to November. The contract called for painting three coats on all the doors, windows, blinds, verandahs, stairs, pelecters [sic] (pilasters?), and in (five?) all woodwork appertaining to the dwelling house erected on premises, … also do glazing and bed the glass in putty. He billed for putty, whiting, panel glass, glue, and white lead; for work on the pantry, bath house, and privy; for his labor in papering, glazing, and painting; for work on the blinds and door frame in the pantry, for the pillars, the cookhouse, and the privy; for gilding the fan light; for buying oil for blinds; and for painting a chair.

[136] The spelling of Danielli Ganez's name varies widely. In the contract it is Anglicanized to Daniel Jenner; on the receipts it appears as Daniel Ganez or Tanez, Daniel Jenner or Genner. The May of 1846 contract with the mason stipulated the digging of a cellar for the dwelling house, 4' deep; the building of 28 square columns (pyristal [sic]and capitol) with walls 12' high; the paving of the lower verandah with tiles; the plastering all inside above and below, including the upper verandah; the arching of all the doors and windows; and the placing short columns [balusters] between the pillars. Ganez's receipt indicated that he was paid for work done between August and December of 1846, specifically in September for building three sides of the verandah wall and "six walls for cellar windows." In the last quarter of 1846, the mason altered the front wall of the verandah, continued work in the cellar (pillars, steps), plus worked on the pantry walls and chimney top. In 1847, the receipts in Dominis's account documented the completion of the upper verandah with whitewash and with a plastered entablature; the enlargement of the privy walls and plastering of the privy itself as well as plastering the bathing room and pantry. Plasterwork was done under the pantry and cellar, too. The cellar was finished with plaster and whitewash and with a brick floor. A cistern for the waterspouts also was constructed. Interior rooms, namely the parlor and two others, had their ceilings whitewashed. In addition, Ganez made "adobies," presumably for the cookhouse. His contract was cancelled in September. The contract called for 4' of excavation. The present cellar measures 6'11" from the brick flooring to the underside of the floorboards above. Since the basement walls originally rose above ground, enough for ventilating windows – also contracted – it is possible the mason only did dig 4' down as specified. Measurements taken in 2007 indicate the first-floor (from the lānai floor, which is above grade, to the second-floor) is about 12'2", meaning the present coral stone walls of Washington Place are compatible with those dictated to Ganez as "walls some 12' high."

[137] Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841-47, Lili'uokalani Collection.

hook & eyes for blinds; hook & eyes, door fastenings, double "ketches", blind fastenings, 1847); William Heath (sawing, 1847); Hornblower (labor, 1847); William Jenny (labor, 1847); William Johnson (1847)[138]; Kekūanāo'a (supplies sand, 1846; with Wm E Maikai, 112' koa, 1847); Alexander McDuffie (watchman, 1847); Pākī (supplies cart); Iona Pi'ikoi – (160 building stones, 1846); J. Sinclair (weather cock for chimney, 1847); William Sumner (stones, lime, sand, carting, 1846-47)[139]; John Sweetman (lime, 1846-47); L.W. Vincent (bolts, screws, crank handle blind latch, 1847); R.W. Wood (koa for stairs, n.d., California cedar, alcohol, gump, shellac, 1847); *B & H Jackson* (flush bolts, plates, 1847); *G. Bent & Co.* (pine, stair newels, wrought nails, window springs, etc., clapboards, carpenter's work, 1847); *Pelly & Allan* (see George T. Allan); *G. Rhodes & Co.*(scantling, joists, 1846); *Makee & Anthon* (pin butts wrought iron, glass door knobs, sash brush, white lead, 1847); *Vincent & Holden* (1843); *S.H. Williams & Co.* (7 boxes window glass, mortise locks, mineral knobs, panes glass, brass buttons, paper iron tacks, nails, scantling, dead lock, bolts, butt hinges, brass door buttons, sand paper, planks, hooks and staples, white lead, plus the carting of shingles and lime, 1847); and *Wood & Parke* (24' koa boards, glue, knobs, koa, and a kamana [sic][140] stair newel polished, as well as seeling [sic] 24 columns, milling molding, sawing 21 line cedars, turning 2 pilaster blocks, turning 2 pillars, repairing 2 sofas, repairing book case and arm of sofa, finishing/varnishing? wardrobe, fitting rods to bedstead, repairing chairs, and making 2 ebony Kulers [sic], knife handle, bottle polish, 1847).

5. Original plans and construction: A contemporary of Captain Dominis, Stephen Reynolds, kept a diary that offers glimpses into Honolulu from 1823 to 1855 albeit it is voyeurism through a merchant's lens. In the 1820s, Reynolds records a small town consisting of about four blocks square, four along the waterfront and four away from the harbor. The buildings were constructed of thatch mostly. Wood and stone were only just becoming available, although Reynolds erected a dwelling with coral stones, and with space inside large enough for dancing. The roads were either dusty or muddy, and the facilities primitive. At this time 3000-4000 Native Hawaiians lived in Honolulu, whereas foreign residents only numbered around one hundred.[141]

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[138] Johnson's account in 1847 provided for work and supplies, specifically on the verandah ceiling and in the stable and cellar, as well as for the plank[s] for stair carriage, glass knobs, koa for the landings and skirting of stairs, hinges, screws, bolts, hinges for cellar door in partition, pine for cellar shelves, American pine for the front door and blinds, cedar for blind slats, boards for the adobe house, scantling for the cellar windows, California cedar, and plank for the steps.

[139] William Sumner had a running account, from August to November of 1846. The next year, his bills ran from April to October, with an additional receipt for November's lime and sand.

[140] Most likely kamani wood.

[141] *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, I: *1823-29*, edited by Pauline King (Honolulu: Ku Pa'a Incorporated, and Salem, MA: Peabody Museum of Salem, 1989), xi-xii.

In the mid-1830s, a Frenchman described Honolulu as situated in the middle of a "rich plain" and surrounded by taro patches. Of the town, Theodore Adolphe Barrot wrote that the "town has sort of an European aspect to it. To the right of the harbor is the white-washed fort… [and] in the midst of scattered houses are seen a number of lookouts, steeples and coconut trees... [and] at a distance, [are seen the] white fronts, green balconies and roofs built in the European manner." As he got closer to the city, Barrot's impression of the place dampened. He noted, "The town of Honolulu does not appear attractive on close inspection. The houses around the landing place are merely cabins, built in the ancient style of the country…Leaving the fort on our right, the white walls of which were set off by the thatched roofs around, we made our way into the town. The streets were sufficiently wide and quite straight. We saw a number of pretty European dwellings, some public places, and a number of well-cultivated gardens."[142]

Holding similar appeal to Barrot, Captain Jacobus Boelen found the European households in Honolulu well-situated and pleasing, commenting that "it seemed to me that in general the white foreigners on this island had managed their affairs very well and lived comfortably." Boelen spent time with Richard Charlton, the British Consul, and with Charlton's family; he also was entertained by the American Consul, John Coffin Jones. Boelen wrote that, "The English consul's house was on the eastern side of the village (or rather capital) of Honolulu, toward the mountain *Puwaina*, also called Punchbowl-hill. His house was not particularly large but decorated and furnished very neatly and with good taste; the atmosphere was always pleasant and civilized. The house of the American consul was situated not far from the landing place, a few roods from the beach. The house was approached through a gate that opened to a vast square, in the center of which stood the house. It had a balcony, which was reached by ascending a long staircase. From the balcony one had a most beautiful view of the whole bay and sea. This balcony led to a long, spacious dining room."[143]

At the time of Boelen's visit, Charlton probably had been living in the eastern part of town for about two years given that his land claim dated to 1826. The American Consul apparently still had his residence nearer the waterfront, more likely in proximity to where the Captain and Mary Dominis first set up housekeeping on Fort Street. It was this house that was offered for sale in 1841. The advertisement touted it as "centrally and pleasantly situated" with an entrance from two streets, a garden "under good cultivation" and "good buildings." Since this was before the Māhele, the "for sale" notice included the 90-year, un-expired

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[142] Barrot, 31-32, 36.

[143] *A Merchant's Perspective*, 61.

lease of the land.[144] The same year the Dominis family put their house and lot on the market, a visitor to Honolulu observed that eight of forty missionary families stayed in Honolulu, and they settled in the east part of town. This section of the city, where Charlton also lived and where the Dominis family was moving, "constitut[ed] a very delightful neighborhood."[145]

Of the house itself, Isaac Hart's bills indicate that work was underway in 1845 and that by July of 1846 the work included the adobe cookhouse and fitting a pump and three spouts. Un-dated correspondence from Queen Emma suggests that this work included a cistern since Emma stated she understood masons could construct a cistern for around one hundred dollars; receipts from the Dominis accounts collaborate Emma's correspondence. In August the mason Ganez billed for building the cistern in August of 1847.[146] The cistern and the cookhouse references confirm that the large dwelling was only one construction project on the grounds; the Dominis house was to be attended by various outbuildings and service features. By January of 1847 the house was far enough along for Chester Lyman to comment on its estimated cost and to say it was two-stories tall and had a piazza all-around. He, too, said it was located in the east part of town.[147]

The following year, the house was described as "the residence of Mrs. Dominis – which was planned & partly completed by Capt D who was engaged in the China trade before he left here in the *Wm Neilson* in 46 – who has not since been heard of. It is a noble mansion of two stories, with a veranda & balcony supported by pillars and standing in a auspicu [sic] situation – is a prominent building seen on approaching the City…the grounds laid out under [Mary Dominis's] personal direction evinc [sic] much taste."[148] Also in 1848, a former boarder Henry Wilson drew the house from memory, as he had lost his notes; the whereabouts of the

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[144] "For Sale," *Polynesian* (31 July 1841). It was also to this dwelling that the Captain brought an intoxicated acquaintance (a sailor from his boat). Rather than sleep it off, the inebriated man jumped out of the window. As no harm to the man was reported as a result, his escape would suggest the house was a raised cottage, rather than a two-story structure the height of Washington Place. T.K. Thomas and Benjamin H. Lawton, Statement to John C. Jones (US Consul), 14 March 1835, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, folder 81); "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan," Sec. 2-25.

[145] Olmsted, 243. Of course the affluent, and influential, neighborhood also attracted burglars. Miller's house was robbed by a man named Morgan in January of 1846; William Lee had clothes and money stolen, but the newspaper did not say from where. Greer, "Honolulu in 1847," 79-80.

[146] Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841-47, Lili'uokalani Collection; Kaleleonālani (Queen Emma) to Mr. Dominis, 18 January n.y., Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 4, folder 103).

[147] Lyman, 162.

[148] Gilman, 145. He described Mary Dominis as a lady of "acknowledged worth," who exhibited hospitality and kindness, traits that "with uniform urbanity" left her "well calculated to fill the station she does as one of the first & most respected ladies of the City."

drawing are not known.[149] In his letter to Dominis, Wilson requested dimensions for the drawing room upstairs, and so revealed at least one of the rooms on the second floor was public space.[150] Wilson also referenced the "main house" and in so doing attested to the presence of various outbuildings on the property. The construction accounts suggest there were also a separate privy, stable, bathhouse, and adobe cookhouse on the grounds. The last was built in July of 1846. Other secondary or service spaces were the pantry and cellar; it is unclear if these were appended to the house proper or were separate structures or were separate spaces but linked to the main house by a causeway or passage.[151] The cellar was accessible by steps; the interior had shelving and at least one partition wall.[152] Wilson also mentioned the site and grounds, and desired to know the names of the plant materials there. Wilson's admiration for the landscaping collaborates what is known of Mary Dominis and the gardens she created.

Two early images of the house are extant, one an oil painting dating to ca. 1850 (although probably dated earlier) and the other a lithograph done by Paul Emmert in 1853.[153] Neither does more than suggest an interior plan, that of a central hall, based on the fenestration, but do raise a question of whether the French doors were original to the house. Both illustrations show windows flanking the central doorway, although the Emmert lithograph includes the lānai balcony that obscures the bottom portion of front façade so what looks like a window opening could have extended to the floor level. Yet Catherine Lee's letter to Caroline Scott, written in September of 1849, indicates there were glass doors connecting the

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[149] Wilson to Dominis, 20 August 1848.

[150] Downstairs the central hall contained the stair. To the Waikīkī side were two rooms separated by a cross hall; likely these served as a music room and dining room while on ʻEwa side were a parlor and a study (later bedroom). The cross hall on this side of the house was later closed to create a dressing room. For a discussion of room use and argument for use of the first-floor rooms in Washington Place, see "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan," Sec. 2-16. The Dominis accounts include a reference to painting the "parlor and two rooms" which could be interpreted as the two ʻEwa rooms on the first floor and the parlors with their rolling doors as just one large room encompassing the cross hall as well. Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841-47, Liliʻuokalani Collection.

[151] Perhaps arguing for the latter possibly was the one reference to the "cellarway" in the receipts. The stairs could have descended from the main house and the cellarway could be a short passage from the stair to the main, partitioned space beneath the house and, if it is the earlier safe as the mortar, bricks, cut nails, and shelving would imply, the present-day strong room.

[152] Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841-47, Liliʻuokalani Collection. Work on the cookhouse also occurred in 1847; receipts indicate that it was plastered and the brick flooring laid at that time. The bathhouse had a tile floor. Another bill dating to February of 1847 specified the digging of a vault, building of privy walls (also expanding the privy), and the construction of two ovens. Blacksmith bills accounted for a chimney, weathercock, and damper. This would have been for the cookhouse. Boards were ordered for the stable; a bill was submitted for carriage lamps.

[153] Copies of these are on file at Washington Place.

lānai to the "rooms of each story."[154] This would imply that there were more doors than those opening into the main stair hall and the cross-hall; it also implies that if there were windows originally, the change to multiple points of entry from the lānai was made early, perhaps even during the construction since the building process took several years and since the Captain's disappearance was known before the building was complete.[155]

Structural evidence, as gleaned during the conservation assessment, was inconclusive regarding the openings to the lānai. Documentary evidence from the Dominis accounts dating from 1842 to 1847 shows that the front door was made of American pine and its fanlight was gilded. In August of 1847, moreover, twelve mineral knobs were exchanged for glass knobs; earlier that summer, work was done on two pillars and pilaster blocks.[156] Seven knobs, and seven large flush bolts and plates, were ordered in that summer as well. The record is tantalizingly unspecific in other places, with orders (and bills) for boxes of window glass, knobs, hinges, fastenings, blinds, and lumber. The *Congaree* shipment in 1845, for example, included the one front door sash, plus eight door/window sash, thirty-three knobs and locks, and eighteen sets of blind fastenings among other items. Later, and at different times, boxes of window glass were purchased, some 10x12 in size and others 10x17. The accounts record the progression of the construction and the architectural hierarchy of the house as it was expressed through degrees of finish (whitewash versus paint, papering, and gilding for instance) and scale of openings. The records also hint at changes made during the construction process, such as when glass knobs replace mineral ones, a change made concurrent with a request for thirty-eight pairs of door fastenings, blind fastenings, four double "ketches" and the alteration of thirty-six other "ketches."[157] The changes happening in the house could be merely aesthetic, or more substantial in nature. An example of a substantial change would be a shift from window sash to double doors.

Circumstantial evidence such as that provided in Lee's letter suggests that the decision to have multiple French doors rather than windows occurred early. The need for ventilation, generally accommodated through multiple points of entry to the main house from a lānai feature, is reiterated by observations of European visiting the islands. One example came in 1828 wherein the diarist wrote of Native Hawaiian and North American housing types and confessed "that the

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[154] Lee to Scott, 28 September 1849, reprinted in Dunn, 74.

[155] The death of her husband would prompt Mary Dominis to take in boarders; since she was aware of the ship's disappearance at sea in the Spring of 1847, she could have had the doors installed shortly thereafter in order to accommodate the shift in occupants from one family to many.

[156] This was separate from the twenty-four columns and moldings made for the upper lānai.

[157] Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841-47, Lili'uokalani Collection.

structure and the whole arrangement of these native dwellings is much more convenient to sleep in…"[158]

By the time Lili'uokalani became Queen in 1891, Honolulu had grown to some 23,000 residents, of which 11,000 were Native Hawaiian and 4,500 foreigners, not including the Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese laborers who made up the balance of the population. The waterfront area, where Dominis had started out, was commercial in character. Streets and avenues ran along the waterfront or toward the mountains. Gardens partially obscured the dwellings, but through the "flowers and vines" single-story framed cottages were visible. These were "very bizarre in form and style [to the French author]…frequently surrounded by wide verandahs, a type of construction most appropriate to life in tropical countries. Here and there huge trees overhang the streets, while rampant vegetation covers fences and walls. Lawns are uniformly fresh and green. Well set off from one another, the houses resemble provincial lodges and rustic cabins scattered about the grounds of an enormous park."[159]

Washington Place, with its gardens, fit this description by the 1890s when Lili'uokalani was writing her autobiography *Hawai'i's Story*; she included a description of the house. She noted that it was her private residence, but her description of Washington Place echoed the setting painted for Honolulu at large – that of a tropical retreat shaded by trees, "ample gardens" and lānais. The Queen said of Washington Place, "it is a large, square, white house, with pillars and porticoes on all sides, …comfortable in its appointments … its front is distant from the street far enough to avoid the dust and noise."[160] As with the other nineteenth-century observations of Washington Place, the Queen too focused on its exterior appearance and lush environs.

6. Alterations and additions: Washington Place has undergone a number of renovations as successive generations adapted the house for new uses. Some changes occurred during the construction process, as revealed in the 1846 masonry contract when Ganez was asked to alter the front verandah wall. Correspondence from 1869 indicates that the cookhouse, presumably the 1846 adobe structure erected by Isaac Hart, was replaced and relocated or re-oriented so as to "save [Mary Dominis] many steps."[161] In a historic photograph taken of

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[158] *A Merchant's Perspective*, 35. Also it was observed of the classically inspired houses in Singapore that all the doors and windows were thrown open at night for breeze. Otherwise the dwellings would be quite stifling. See Lin, *The Singapore House 1819-1942*.

[159] M.G. Bosseront D'Anglade, *A Tree in Bud: The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1889-1893*, translated by Alfons L. Korn (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987), chap 4.

[160] Lili'uokalani, 22. She also said it was "really a palatial dwelling" as if to imply although she was no longer the monarch and no longer living in the Palace, her private quarters were prestigious enough.

[161] L.S. Spenser to Mary Dominis, 2 May 1869, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93).

the Queen, the Waikīkī side of the house is shown in the background. A small, one-story addition is just visible off the back of the house, and this addition was made of brick. This protrusion was most likely part of the new cookhouse facility.[162] Some years later, in the re-telling of a foray onto the grounds of Washington Place, Lawrence Judd observed that the lānai was open only on three sides. Although he does not say so explicitly, it was the mauka lānai that was gradually subsumed into interior living spaces. Later, as governor, Judd mentions a back stair in the vicinity of his bedroom.[163]

Shortly after the Queen was imprisoned in the Palace, in 1895, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* published an account describing Washington Place. The plan of Washington Place, as described in the newspaper, corresponds to historic photographs, one of which was copied as an illustration for the paper.[164] In the text the sequence of rooms on the Waikīkī side were labeled as a parlor or reception room, music room, and dining room in the back.[165] Behind those public spaces were pantries and kitchen service areas; from the kitchen was a stair leading into the brick cellar below. Assuming the cellar stairs have always been in the same place, the kitchen would have been built over top of them in the mauka-'Ewa corner of the house.[166] To the reporter's left, or 'Ewa side of the hall, were a sitting room and bedroom. The center hall ran front-to-back and contained the stair crafted of koa wood;[167] the stair balustrade and railing was "light and airy."

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[162] Copies of the historic photographs are on file at Washington Place.

[163] *Lawrence M. Judd and Hawaii*, 54-57, 195.

[164] The photograph copied in the newspaper was taken by J.J. Williams; it is a perspective view of the exterior.

[165] This also correlates to the description of the wedding reception held in Washington Place for Governor McCarthy's daughter. The event filled two parlors and the "large hall." The dining room was "cleared for dancing" and the presents were displayed in another one of the rooms. *Honolulu Advertiser* (22 October 1922). An historic photograph of this side of the house in the late nineteenth century shows the cross hall turned into a music room; an ornamental screen blocks the door into the mauka- Waikīkī room. Opening off of that space are glazed doors. The room in the back – added by the Queen – is enclosed. The internal door surrounds are Greek Revival in character – fluted, with corner blocks. By the time of the 1910 photographs the series of spaces along the Waikīkī side of the house are opened up, although the piano has been moved almost blocking the center doorway to the lānai. The walls have been wallpapered. The pocket-like, rolling doors, seen in the earlier series of photographs, appear to have been taken out of the front parlor; a curtain hangs in their place. The light fixtures also differ.

[166] Accounts from the construction period mention the cellar steps and once refer to a cellar-way.

[167] Olmsted described the governor's house as a center hall plan with spacious rooms to each side. He also said that the doors and woodwork were made of "koa wood which unites the elegance of the curled maple and the black walnut. In the hall is a large center table, … veneered with ko [sic] wood arranged in sectors of a circle, a variety resembling rose wood…." Olmsted, 220-21. His description puts the wood finishes of Washington Place within a building tradition that was Anglo-American in character with well-appointed, native details. The table is similar in description to the round one at Washington Place with its luxurious

Upstairs was said to be "an exact replica" of that below, suggesting the hall extended the length of the building, front-to-back, as the central hall did on the first floor.[168] Regardless, there were two rooms to either side of the hall. On the Waikīkī side, one was a sitting room and the other a bedroom, mimicking the suite of rooms below used by Lili'uokalani. The Queen now (1895) slept downstairs, so these two upstairs rooms had become parlors. The other two, across the hall, remained as bedrooms.[169] The inside featured native-made furnishings, glowing woodwork, Chinese cabinets, carpeting, Venetian blinds, and old-fashioned hinges. Specifically mentioned were the Queen's desk, bedstead, and piano.[170]

The Queen's tenure was marked by two concerted efforts to spruce up the dwelling. The first came at the mid-to-end of the 1890s, coinciding with the withdrawal of the annexation bill from Congress and while the Queen's claim for compensation was still under discussion by her advisors and allies on Capitol Hill. Likely the repairs were done with the intention of fixing the house up in preparation for her return from Washington, DC, where she had gone to seek redress from the American President and Congress in the wake of the monarchy's

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woodwork. On the stair, construction receipts specifically account for the koa stair landings and skirting; a late entry also mentions a polished kamana [sic] newel. Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841-47, Lili'uokalani Collection.

[168] The conjectural floor plans, drawn from the inventories and memory, shown in fig. 3-95 of the conservation report show the center hall running the length of the building on the second floor, replicating that found on the first: a central hall plan with rooms two deep. No cross hall is shown, however. It would have made sense for the framing to correspond to that on the first floor, and while there is no structural evidence for a cross hall, the arrangement of the exterior openings on Waikīkī and 'Ewa sides suggest the possibility that the second floor plan was identical to that on the first. Moreover, it is most likely the central hall did not run the length of the building, and that the present double parlor represents the original room configuration. The fenestration on the second-floor makai lānai would support this. See "Washington Place, Architectural Conservation Plan," Sec. 3-114.

[169] The article stated that she moved the bedroom downstairs once her husband died, however, it is more likely she moved into the room once occupied by Mary Dominis in 1889 (after Mary died). Mary Dominis suffered from rheumatism as did John; it is unlikely either climbed the steps at Washington Place as the disease worsened. As one of the more private rooms in the house, this room could have been planned as the Captain's study and once Washington Place became a boarding house, it could have offered Mary Dominis a respite from her guests. There are still four rooms in the second story, although corresponding to where the cross hall is on the first floor that space on the second has been in-filled by bathrooms. Upstairs, the center door on the makai and Waikīkī sides appear to match the other four openings, lacking the emphasis of the first floor axial portals. See for example the ca. 1893 photograph with Lili'uokalani seated, with Sam Nowlein standing behind her, on the Waikīkī side of the house. The view is a perspective view. The photographer could have been J.J. Williams. Hawai'i State Archives (PP 12, folder 5)/Washington Place archive #21.

[170] "An Historic Residence," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (9 March 1895), 1. The Queen reportedly received the piano as a gift for her fifty-third birthday. Ariyoshi, 98, who referenced the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (23 April 1892).

overthrow and petition for annexation, and done with the intention of maintaining a presence in Honolulu close to the government center. In a July of 1897 letter the Queen confessed the house needed "repairing badly." The following June she requested matting for the parlor, lower hall, and dining room; this would go under the rugs. For the exterior, painting was a priority for both Washington Place and her property at Waikīkī. She cites the cottage, cook room, two lānais, two bathrooms of the lower lānai, and the Hyman carriages at Washington Place as needing attention. She also hoped that "after [her] debts [we]re paid to pull up the boards and have a general repairing all over the house – to have the small house near the cookhouse, bathrooms, entry to the cookhouse, all painted fresh." In November, a lānai was constructed in front of Helehule's cottage. The following summer she wistfully talked about putting up a "high board fence" between her property and the Miller premises, then occupied by the O'ahu College trustees.[171]

Complementing this effort to fix up Washington Place, the result of a practical need as well as a symbolic gesture directed toward the American community, were a series of photographs of the Queen at home.[172] Because the photographs were taken around the time various newspapers printed "unchivalrous attacks on her character…" it is likely the Queen wanted to show her critics on the mainland that she not only spoke their language, but understood their definition of taste and was in "every way qualified to move in society."[173] Perhaps if the perceived differences were lessened, or negated, America might respond positively to her plight since the monarchy's overthrow, and might be motivated to do what was right. The photographs show, for example, the exterior punctuated by dark louvered shutters, the painted clapboards, the Greek Revival-style fluted door surrounds with corner blocks (the round detail has been described elsewhere as bull's eye molding), and the lānai floor tiled; while on the interior the walls are papered, pictures hung, kāhili displayed, floors carpeted, and furnishings abound. There are formal receiving rooms for polite gatherings and a piano for musical performances. The parlors have doors that appear to roll back, parallel to the wall plane, rather than swing open.[174]

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[171] Lili'uokalani to J.O. Carter, 7 July 1897, 2 June 1898, 22 June 1898, 3 August 1899, Hui Hānai Collection; Lili'uokalani Trust Records, Hawai'i State Archives (M-397, box 2).

[172] The Queen referenced some pictures of Washington Place by Mr. Joedicke in her 1893 diary; she was going to send copies to a friend. There are other photographs taken of the Queen upon her return to Washington Place on August 2nd, ten days before the day of the lowering of the Hawaiian flag and raising of the American flag at 'Iolani Palace on 12 August 1898. Lili'uokalani, Diary, 26 July 1893.

[173] *New York Times* (3 December 1893). In her diary, Lili'uokalani clearly bristled under the criticism as her tone of vindication indicates after a successful visit and pleasant social call with President Roosevelt in 1903; she most understandably resented the characterization of her as an "ignorant, pagan woman." Lili'uokalani, Diary, 20 February 1903, Bishop Museum.

[174] The rollers are visible along the top of the doorframe. True pocket doors slide into the wall; these do not appear to be accordion doors, either. Copies of the photographs are on file at Washington Place.

A more sustained renovation campaign occurred ten years later, at a time when the Queen realized her claim would be rejected,[175] and again was accompanied by photographic documentation. Account books from 1907 to 1911 reveal the Queen contracted for substantial plumbing work beginning in 1907 and put in a new kitchen. The safe was repaired at this time; similarly, Washington Place was connected to the sewer system. Old lumber from Washington Place was sold in 1909, as work continued on the site. Interior changes included cabinetry repairs, work on the sideboard and bookcases, upholstery, lighting, and other furnishings. The flagpole also received attention.[176]

By the time of the Queen's death in 1917, the first floor plan of Washington Place included parlors en-suite on the Waikīkī side (front parlor, half hallway, and back parlor) and bedrooms with a dressing room in-between on the 'Ewa side. Off the back were the dining room, pantry, kitchen, bathroom, lānai, and stairs to the second floor. It is unclear if the stairway mentioned is the exterior or interior staircase; from its place in the inventory, it would seem to be the exterior, single run stair rising from the mauka lānai. However, it is the only stair mentioned which would support the idea the reference was to the internal flight of steps. Only two rooms upstairs are mentioned, the front or makai bedrooms.[177] This inventory was taken for the rental by McCarthy of the property; the rental agreement included some pieces of furniture as well as the house and outbuildings.

Shortly thereafter, another room-by-room inventory was enumerated. This time all four bedrooms on the second floor as well as the hallway bookcases were included. Downstairs, the room arrangement echoed that noted for the McCarthy lease, with parlors flanking the half hallway and bedrooms with a dressing room on the 'Ewa side. The dining room was added onto the main block, to the mauka of the house. Secondary or service spaces named in the inventory and appraisal were the stairway, verandah (lānai), kitchen, kitchen bathroom, pantry, and a "crockery and glassware room" inside the house; a cellar was below.

Outbuildings existing at the time of the inventories included a building called the Trust building, (consisting of interior and exterior spaces such as two bedrooms,

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[175] For more on the Queen's petition to the U.S. Court of Claims and on her bill for relief in the U.S. Congress, see a forthcoming book manuscript by Neil Proto.

[176] Lili'uokalani Trust Records, Hawai'i State Archives (M-397, box 2).

[177] No cross hall or half-hallway spaces on the second floor were chronicled in the inventory. However, exterior photographs of the period suggest a cross hallway (east-to-west) on the second floor.

one bathroom, front and back offices, front and back rooms, and lānais);[178] a rear building (consisting of three rooms – bedroom, parlor, room - and a bathroom plus exterior living space on the front and rear lānais); a shed to the rear of the house; a garage; a carriage shed; and stables. The yard was noted solely for the tools and potted plants.[179] One of the two buildings was a cottage once occupied by the doctor, and the other was occupied by Heleluhe. The latter was located to the back of the property, and was in line with a strip of land extending to Vineyard Street the Queen had hoped to buy around the turn of the twentieth century.[180] The doctor's cottage, most likely the same building as the Queen's cottage just renamed to reflect its occupant at the time, was "latticed" in 1899; Helehule's was just "old," with a leaking shingled roof.[181]

Between 1899 and 1921 the plastered ceiling of the second-floor lānai was replaced with tongue and groove boards. There was a servant's bathroom by ca. 1920, and the Trust paid for the "removing of bath into Washington Place" in August of 1921. It is unclear where these were located from the accounting records.[182]

More detailed records, mostly from the Department of Public Works, accompany the twentieth-century changes. These begin in 1921-22.[183] Once ownership of Washington Place was transferred from the Trustees to the Territorial government, substantive alterations to the building's fabric occurred. Some repairs, such as to failing wood structural members, replacements, like that of the stair, and upgrades, such as to the electrical and plumbing systems and the adding of gas heaters, were essential. Other changes came about due to the shift in use of the house from that of the Queen, who lived there in her forced retirement, to that of the governors who needed it to serve both private and public purposes. New additions, such as the glassed lānai, porte-cochere, and state dining room, with kitchen, pantry, and breakfast room appended, reflected this change. The flooring of the lānai was replaced with concrete at this time as well. Inside, the second

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[178] The "trust" referred to the Lili'uoakalani Trust that was established in 1909. The building was perhaps the same structure previously called the "Queen's Cottage" and located to the Waikīkī side of the Washington Place. The inventory does not specify location.

[179] Lili'uokalani Trust Records, Hawai'i State Archives (M-397, box 3, folder 1: estate inventories, furniture).

[180] This property was next door.

[181] Lili'uokalani to Carter, 9 October 1899. Since Heleluhe's cottage was towards the rear of the property, it is possible it was the building previously called "Kaipo's cottage."

[182] Lili'uokalani Trust Records, Hawai'i State Archives (M-397, box 3).

[183] Drawings associated with these alterations are enumerated below.

floor accommodated bedrooms and bathrooms, while downstairs the partition walls were opened up to facilitate large gatherings.[184]

As the governors settled into Washington Place, so too did their families. This generated a series of changes to the building to increase living space and to better enable family privacy in a public setting. In 1929-30, for example, a bedroom suite for the governor was added, located over the kitchen wing. Another bedroom and bathroom were installed over the dining room. Bathrooms were periodically redone, and the wallpaper and furnishings augmented over the decades. At other times crises precipitated alterations, such as the case of the elevator installed in 1949 after Mrs. Stainback's accident, or the flooding of the 1930s terrace during the inaugural reception for Governor King in 1953. The latter event resulted in the construction of the covered open lānai. The remodeling of the state dining room, installation of a bathroom and office next to the Queen's bedroom, creation of a study for the governor, and the replacement of the front door and hall doors were projects also undertaken at this time.[185] As in 1922, the roof and termite-damaged

[184] The building was essentially gutted. In the *Report of the Superintendent of Public Works*, Lyman Bigelow described conditions at Washington Place and the work done up to 30 June 1922. The department discovered the main building "was literally eaten up by white ants which were still alive and working; and the whole building except the first story coral walls was in a very dangerous condition. [...] In the rear portion of the building in the pantry section considerable dry rot was found in addition to the ants. [...]" Bigelow also described the plumbing as "temporary fixtures" writing that "there were no screens, closets or bath rooms in the original building, ..." It is likely the dressing room mentioned in the inventories as adjacent to what was the Queen's bedroom contained the temporary plumbing fixtures, and the bathrooms were appended to the rear of the house – not in the core of the structure. In addition to replacing the wood members and roof system, repairing column capitals, adding a cement floor to the lānai and piers in the basement, replacing the koa stair, the house was rewired, plumbed, painted and wallpapered. There was a full bath added on the first floor as well as those on the second. A sleeping porch was added off of the front bedroom. The back of the house, previously mentioned only in reference to the pantry section, now included a dining room, breakfast room, pantry, kitchen, storeroom, and screened lānai. *Report of the Superintendent for Public Works... 1922*, 21-22; "Washington Place, Former Home of Last Queen of Hawaii, Ready for Governor about March 17," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (12 March 1922), 9, 12; "New Washington Place Preserves Much of the Air of Distinction of the Old," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (23 April 1922), 10. This last stated that Governor Farrington used the Queen's bedroom as his library.

[185] The contract for $6837 was given to John Hansen; it included the "construction of a frame second story over the kitchen and dining room section of Washington Place, ell shape in section, one ell being 32' long and 20' wide and the other 23' 7 ½" long and 20' wide." *Report of the Superintendent of Public Works to the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii for the Year Ending 30 June 1930*, 14. Designs for the 1953-55 work were done by Albert Ives. Ives was an architect trained at the New York School of Fine and Applied Arts (1918) and in Paris (1921); his education included work as a draftsman for Theodate Pope in 1922, work for Delano and Aldrich in 1925, Trainor and Fateo in 1926, and Addison Mizner in 1928. He became a member of the AIA in the 1930s, lapsed during the war and on his relocation to Honolulu after the war, readmitted. His practice included projects for Winterthur and for Barbara Hutton. In Hawaii, he is associated with the Honolulu Academy of the Arts (1961), the Hotel Hana Maui, and Alice Bowen's house in Honolulu. Likely his background and classical education – rather than his Japanese-inspired residential projects – secured the commission at Washington Place. The Greek-Revival motifs he employed were perhaps selected as visual expression of the return to an Anglo-American occupancy, an assertion or formalizing through material culture of the Governors' period. Albert Ives, Membership file, AIA archives;

components were repaired. In 1959, a sitting room was created for the governor's family; this was located over the glassed lānai, where the present-day office is today.[186] The fire escape was put in at this time as well.[187]

Service areas of the house, such as the kitchen wing, received various updates. Since its addition in the 1920s, plans called for the kitchen-pantry area to be revamped in the 1950s[188] and again in 1963. The 1960s remodeling provided for a service entrance and a service or utilities area as well as for a pantry, linen storage, and breakfast room.[189] Exterior work on this, the mauka, side was done in 1968.

Structural work occurred at various intervals, beginning in the 1920s with the initial renovation, again in 1953-54, and in 1974. The 1970s-era work concentrated on the basement and attic support systems, adding new joists, beams, posts, and rafters where necessary.[190] Termite-damaged members on the lānais, first floor, and roof structure were repaired in 2002 as well. Painting inside and outside was done in the 1970s, 1980s, and again in the mid-1990s. The exterior was repainted in 2006. New plasterwork, with a concrete coating, was done in 1980; this cement-plaster finish is evident on the bottom-third of the first-floor lānai coral stone walls and pillars. Re-shingling and other roof repairs were specified in 1964 and again in 1977; drawings also suggest Washington Place received a new roof in 1992. A water leak in the second-floor bathroom on the 'Ewa side of the house prompted additional repairs in 2000.[191]

Albert Ives, Baldwin Memorial Archive, AIA; *Architectural Forum* (February 1948); *House Beautiful* 102 (September 1960); *House Beautiful* 104 (January 1962); *House and Garden* 101 (April 1952).

[186] The sitting room was demolished and replaced with a new family room in 1987.

[187] Drawings from 2000 indicate the fire escape was still in place; drawings from the 2002 project do not show it. The fire escape came down in 2004. Katie Slocumb to Virginia B. Price, electronic communication, 13 December 2007.

[188] Plans called for the kitchen to be renovated in the 1950s, but later plans show the kitchen virtually unchanged. This suggests that the 1950s plans were not fully implemented. The Superintendent's report only indicated that alterations and additions were completed in May of 1954 at a cost of $35,594.10. There was also interior decoration, with new furniture and fixtures, about ninety percent complete. The cost of that work reached just over $40,000. *Report of the Superintendent of Public Works to the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii for the Year Ending 30 June 1954*, 11.

[189] This lay-out is essentially what is seen today.

[190] "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan," Sec. 3-127. Based on site inspections in April and September of 2007, it has been argued that the majority of the roof framing looks to be from the 1920s reconstruction. Mark Schara to Virginia B. Price, personal communication, 7 January 2008.

[191] A chronological summary of the major alterations can be found in the conservation plan; see "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan," Sec. 3-129-30.

> Restoration of the Queen's Bedroom occurred in 2002, returning the room largely to its 1917-era appearance. Historic photographs and new material evidence uncovered during the study which resulted in the Architectural Conservation Plan (2007) revealed the original pitch and forward location of the stair and primary and secondary doorways. It is now thought that the bed, presently on the makai wall, should be on the Waikīkī side; the bedroom doorway also was originally positioned more forward or makai.[192]

B. Historical Context

At the time Lili'uokalani succeeded her brother King Kalākaua to the throne, in 1891, her beloved Waikīkī contained a series of "simple cottages and handsome country villas" that "adjoined a park of century-old coconut trees." The city of Honolulu still lingered at the foot of Punchbowl Hill, the extinct volcanic crater resembling a truncated cone, and was home to 23,000 people. Approaching the town, it was mostly "lost among the trees" but on closer inspection, the "view was dominated by a number of public buildings and four or five church steeples…" The most impressive aspect of the city's appearance, however, was its "verdant splendor, fresh throughout the year, beneath the blue sky and the constant summer sun." The island of O'ahu was surrounded by a "series of coral reefs, one of which at Honolulu [was] cut through and dredged so as to afford an artificial channel leading to the harbor and port facilities…the government, commerce and social life of Hawaii are all concentrated in Honolulu, while the rest of the country is entirely given over to sugar and rice plantations, cattle pastures, forests, and wasteland. […] *the general effect is that of a new and modern city, hiding its special Polynesian character under an American disguise.*"[193]

The same, arguably, could be said of Washington Place once Lili'uokalani married John Owen Dominis in 1862. Its classical, serene exterior that was derived from Greek Revival architectural patterns in America masked the social dynamics of family, friends, boarders, and servants, and the competing influences of Anglo and Hawaiian traditions, of merchants and missionaries, and of governments. The material manifestation of this duality was in the native woods, like koa, used for the interior and in the mixing of Hawaiian symbols, like kāhili, amongst the western settees, upholstered arm chairs, and tables and Chinese-export cabinetry. Some of the furnishings were fashioned of indigenous woods by local craftsmen; others, like the piano, spoke to a universal appreciation for music as a cultural expression. Lili'uokalani used the dwelling as she did her other properties, moving between them as occasions warranted or mood dictated. She also kept Washington Place for much the same purposes as those that motivated John

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[192] A carefully detailed chronicle of the twentieth-century changes to the building can be found in the conservation report. See "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan," Sec. 3-120-30.

[193] D'Anglade, chap. 4. Emphasis mine. He later wrote, "in less than a century Honolulu has become truly a new town of the United States, …" p. 110.

Dominis to build it: to announce the owner's presence in the best neighborhood, amidst the missionary families, government center, and diplomatic corps, and away from the hustle and bustle of the harbor and the impolite watering holes of the sailors.

In 1840, however, neither was assured more than a tangential place in Hawaiian politics. Lili'uokalani was only a little girl named Lydia. She was born to ali'i parents, Caesar Kapa'akea and Ane Keohokalole and adopted to another royal couple, Abner Pākī and Laura Kōnia, in the Hawaiian hānai tradition. Overshadowed in childhood by her gregarious sibling, Bernice Pauahi, and her male cousins, young Lydia took comfort in music, becoming a celebrated composer, in education, hers and that of children,[194] and in flowers.[195] As a young adult, her position within the ali'i class and her closeness to the monarchs kept her within the larger political sphere. Ironically by the time her brother David was named king, thus elevating her rank further, gender had become more of a liability as women increasingly were viewed through the lens of a Puritan-esque New England bias rather than through the traditional Hawaiian acknowledgement of feminine authority figures. One such figure, the High Chiefess Kapi'olani, an early Christian convert, lived on the island of Hawai'i, and her welcome to the various diarists included descriptions of her appearance, living quarters, and Christianity. Another example was Ka'ahumanu, who served as regent for Kamehameha III, until her death in 1833. Kīna'u succeeded her as regent, but it was Ka'ahumanu who secured Protestantism as the national religion.[196]

As Queen, Lili'uokalani held similar power over her people as Ka'ahumanu and Kīna'u had done, but the missionaries – as predicted earlier in the century by an envious merchant and diplomatic corps in 1826 – had gained the upper hand. They also exploited residual childhood rivalries within the ali'i that sought to marginalize Lili'uokalani in favor of Emma Rooke.[197] Lili'uokalani's position, therefore, shifted within the ali'i; her sensitivity to this is demonstrated through a careful genealogy of her, and Kalākaua's,

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[194] She, for example, organized Hui Ho'ona'auao, a benevolent association established to promote the education of children, especially that of girls. It was set up in 1886 and continued until 1892, although not officially dissolved until 1916. D'Anglade on education, 114-17.

[195] Lyman, 71-72; *The Diaries of David Lawrence Gregg*, 85; Lili'uokalani, 1-11.

[196] James Jackson Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian Islands…*, 4th edition (Honolulu: Henry M. Whitney, Publisher, 1872), 157, on the missionaries and "the all powerful" Ka'ahumanu.

[197] Emma married Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV) in 1856, and they remained on the throne until the king's death in 1863. Although rivals, Lili'uokalani and Queen Emma shared similar views on the lease of Pearl Harbor (opposed) and Lili'uokalani undoubtedly would have concurred with Emma in 1873 in this "feeling of bitterness against these rude people who dwell on our land and have high-handed ideas of giving away somebody else's property as if it was theirs." Russell E. Benton, *Emma Naea Rooke: Beloved Queen of Hawaii*, Mellon Studies in History, vol. 5 (Lewiston/Queenston: Edwin Mellon Press, 1988). On Pearl Harbor, Osorio, 166.

lineage which she documented in her autobiography, *Hawai'i's Story*.[198] It also shifted within her marriage, with the Queen exerting more independence and assuming more responsibility for Washington Place, and its occupants, over time. She grew more comfortable asserting her "special Polynesian character" all the while married to an American and living in the house his father envisioned. She, for example, adopted her three children in the Hawaiian fashion (hānai), Joseph Aea, John Dominis Aimoku,[199] and Lydia Aholo, after being named the heir-apparent to the throne in 1877. Aimoku was the son of John Dominis, born in 1883, and Lili'uokalani legally adopted him in 1909; at that time, his name was changed to John Aimoku Dominis. His three children would become the Dominis heirs, although their rights to Washington Place after the Queen's death were embroiled in the political squabbles over her material legacy.

As a ship captain, Dominis's position was no less steady than Lydia's was within the ali'i and the ali'i's within the larger Anglo community. He was beholden to the ship's owners and responsible for selling the cargo for profit. The business arrangement created an ebb and flow of resources and the potentially dangerous fiduciary habit of living on credit. Accounts with James Sturgis and Charles Brewer, for example, indicate some trading in sandalwood and furs, dealings with Mr. Pierce and Russell & Co, and freights on the *Don Juan*, *Swallow*, *Sir Charles Forbes*, and *Jos. Peabody*. The latter was lost, leaving the Captain indebted to its sponsors. After his death, his attorney Francis Johnson, an accountant or clerk A.H. Fayerweather, and his son John O. Dominis reference outstanding bills to Russell & Co. as well as to Farnham. The close of Sturgis's account, which ran from 1841 to 1845, had a balance of almost $9000.[200]

Nonetheless, Dominis entered into the Pacific trade, linking Honolulu to the northwest coast of America, to California, and to China, in the 1820s as the sandalwood trade was

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[198] This is illustrated in her book. The genealogy countered charges from rivals, and from supporters of Queen Emma, that her right to the throne was illegitimate. After Kamehameha V died, the fact that Emma was a direct descendent of Kamehameha I was perceived as particularly important, especially to those who advocated for her. Queen Emma and David Kalākaua were the candidates to succeed Kamehameha V; they faced off in an election, a contest that Kalākaua won. The effects of the election, wherein the Native Hawaiians were not in unison on the candidate, are discussed by Osorio, 151-62. Osorio argues that while Kalākaua won the election, he ruled thereafter from a position of weakness. This was exploited by the Hawaiian League (men who were associated with the missionary party) in 1887 when they forced the king to sign a new constitution, thereafter dubbed the "bayonet constitution." Lorrin Thurston, Sanford B. Dole, William R. Castle, William Kinney, and Sereno Bishop – all of whom later conspired to depose the Queen – were instrumental in the 1887 Constitution. The change was at least partially economically motivated as the reciprocity treaty with the United States was under consideration. Lili'uokalani was perceived as less friendly than her brother to American business interests or to those of the haole sugar plantations, a characterization said to be shared by her brother-in-law Charles Reed Bishop.

[199] Around the time of the Trust deed in 1909 and before Kūhiō's lawsuit was initiated in 1915, Aimoku's name was changed to John Aimoku Dominis. The Queen had legally adopted Aimoku in 1910 under this change of name. His children were photographed at Washington Place.

[200] Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841-47, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 102).

peaking and after whale grounds were discovered near Japan.[201] New England fur traders, including Dominis, ran up against the Hudson Bay Company which ultimately circumscribed the Americans' efforts in the business. Dominis, however, received a recommendation from the British Consul in Honolulu Richard Charlton in 1830 and that endorsement perhaps aided him in the maritime fur trade and helped earn him the reputation for being one of the few to make the venture a success. The Honolulu-California trade was dominated by American vessels and interests, which made the Captain's stops in San Francisco more typical than his forays into the Columbia River.[202]

Stephen Reynolds, a merchant in the islands, was a contemporary of the Captain's and recorded in his journals some of Dominis's comings and goings. Dominis sailed in various convoys to the northwest coast, commanded vessels like the Brig. *Owhyhee* to the coast and to China, stopping at Kamchatka, Manila, Norfolk Sound, and Canton. Dominis is said to have gone sea otter hunting, and, in 1831, to have initiated the shipping of salted salmon back East. [203] Reynolds was an ally of the Captain's when the resident merchants teamed up with Charlton and the American Consul, John C. Jones, against what was perceived as an undue influence of the missionaries over politics and commerce on the islands that came to a boil in 1826. The merchants objected to the missionaries' strategy of working down through the ali'i – hoping the Native Hawaiians would follow their chiefs' lead in conversion to the New England brand of Christianity and lifestyle choices – that also gave the missionaries access to the rulers, and so enabled them to weigh in on the workings of government. The missionaries also established schools and printing presses, to better guide, educate, and remind their new converts; the press also gave them a vehicle for defending themselves. By the time the dispute went to arbitration on board the *USS Peacock*, under the command of Thomas ap Catesby Jones, the merchants declined to commit their grievances in writing whereas the missionaries' printed circular stated their case.[204]

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[201] Dominis was not a whaler.

[202] Macallan, 94-95; Jarves, 163; Bradley, 75-79, 408-11; "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan," Sec. 2-24; Richard Charlton, 12 November 1830, Hawai'i State Archives (FO & Ex, box 3, folder 33). Also of note, Dominis received a patent in September of 1842 for his improvement to the instrument for measuring sails; a colleague back in Boston wrote to him two years earlier that the patent was pending. Apparently paperwork needed to be filed. The device was called drafting scales in this note. B.F. Snow to Captain John Dominis, 12 June 1840, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 8A, folder 84); Patent, 1842, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 8A, folder 82). Charlton was an agent for the Hudson Bay Company initially, but fell out of favor with them later in his Hawaiian stay. Paske-Smith, 17.

[203] *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, various dates.

[204] Bradley, 181; Paske-Smith, 8-9; Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands* ..., 3rd edition (reprint, Rutland, VT and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1981), 301-04.

The schism between the missionaries and merchants persisted, enough so visitors commented on the divisions among the foreign residents. However by the 1840s, when Washington Place was built and named, the rivalries for influence assumed a more nationalistic overtone. Levi Chamberlain observed the social interaction of former adversaries, like Captain Dominis, who dined in the houses of missionaries on occasion.[205] Dominis eventually elected to become neighbors with those like Gerrit P. Judd,[206] whose influence on the native government was overt. Those seeking political and economic power gravitated toward the government center emerging around ʻIolani Palace, building houses to exhibit their presence. That the competition escalated from local grumbles between missionary and merchant to that of government ambitions is illustrated through the contract dispute between Dominis and Henry Skinner.[207] Each appealed to his country's representative, and a jury trial was set. The jury members were chosen from the foreign community, but there were more Americans than Englishmen selected. Skinner protested and the case was dismissed.[208] The resulting legalities embroiled various authorities in negotiations for treaties with the government that stipulated jury composition based on the defendants' nationality, and Charlton's request that naval officers be empowered to settle disputes, thus introducing the idea that foreign firepower should hold sway over internal politics. By this time, though, the islands were an essential part of western powers' hopes for empire in the Pacific.

From the perspective of these western powers that coveted the islands, the history of Hawaiʻi generally was thought to begin with the voyages of Captain James Cook and the discovery of the archipelago by Europeans in 1778. George Vancouver (1792-94) mapped the islands in their entirety, and Honolulu's harbor was drawn as early as 1816, the village in 1818. The scientific and cartographical interests in the coastlines and harbors gave way to commercial concerns and physiological needs of the sailors on long voyages. Hawaiʻi, and Honolulu in particular, offered a respite from the sea, fresh supplies, alcohol and women. British and American commercial houses[209] established outposts in the islands to better manage the trade. Diplomatic and military visitors

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[205] Bradley, 258.

[206] Doctor Judd left missionary work in 1842 and eventually became the king's Minister of Finance. His wife, Laura Fish Judd, kept a journal recording their time in Hawaiʻi.

[207] Kuykendall, 209, and 209, footnote 8. Kuykendall's footnote references "an extensive file" regarding the dispute at the Hawaiʻi State Archives.

[208] Bradley, 399-401. Nonetheless, Dominis paid Skinner $10,196.03 on 14 March 1842 to settle his account with Skinner, an obligation that involved a firm Sardine Matheson & Co. in China. Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841-47, Liliʻuokalani Collection, Hawaiʻi State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 102).

[209] Barrot comments that there were a number of American houses established there, but only one inconsequential English one and the French appeared intermittently, after long intervals. Americans brought white and unbleached cottons, soap, ready-made clothing, flour, rum, wines, and some other French articles. English imports were calicoes, white cottons, cordage, canvas, and hardware. Sugar came from the Society Islands or from Peru, while lumber was brought from New Zealand. Barrot, 105-06.

ensued. An unexpected boon from Hawai'i's entrance into the Europeans' Pacific trading routes was the premium prices furs from the American northwest brought in Canton.[210] Whaling soon followed, and the Americans dominated the market. The American whalers, based out of New England, reached Hawai'i in 1819. In addition to Honolulu, the port at Lahaina hosted the whaling ships.[211] Hawaiian sandalwood also was extremely lucrative. Unfortunately, through financial exchanges and environmental effects not fully understood, the indebted chiefs sold as much as sandalwood as could be harvested. The forests were denuded by the second quarter of the nineteenth century.[212]

An early settler of European descent, a Spaniard, was Don Francisco de Paula Marin. His agricultural interests altered the Hawaiian economy[213] and his dwelling represented a western presence in the islands that rarely escaped mention by visitors. By 1836, according to a Frenchmen, Marin was one of 400 or 500 foreigners living in the islands, albeit one who was jaded against the influence of the American missionaries over society. Reportedly he grumbled that the civilized became savages, and the so-called savages became civilized. In the course of the missionaries' strictures, they had "occasioned bigotry and hypocrisy which was unknown among us." Religion invaded the country and subjected it to its demands.[214] Marin, incidentally not a protestant of New England Calvinist proclivities, objected.

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[210] Fitzpatrick, 31-60.

[211] Fitzpatrick, 31-60; *A Merchant's Perspective*, 72-73; Olmsted, 190; Ernest S. Dodge, Introduction to *American Activities in the Central Pacific, 1790-1870*, edited by R. Gerald Wood (Ridgewood, NJ: Gregg Press, 1966), 7-51. Whalers were based in Nantucket and New Bedford, Massachusetts. They came to the Pacific in search of new whaling grounds, at first offshore of Peru (1791) and then into the North Pacific Ocean. The whalers and the missionaries landed in Hawaii in 1819, although whaling peaked in 1850. In 1828, Boelen estimated New Bedford sent 240 ships annually, just as an example of the volume. *A Merchant's Perspective*, 72.

[212] Barrot, 107; *Hawaii in 1819*, chap. 1; *A Merchant's Perspective*, 76-81. The sandalwood trade boomed from 1790 to around 1820.

[213] Blanche Kaualua L. Lee, *Don Francisco de Paula Marin: The Unforgettable Spaniard Hawaii's First Western Farmer* (Pittsburgh: RoseDog Books, 2004), chap. 1.; *A Merchant's Perspective*, 61.

[214] Barrot, 57. In 1828, Boelen observed those living in O'ahu seemed happier than those living under the missionaries' direct tutelage. Moreover, D'Anglade wrote that "…the Americans have proved in Hawaii … their incomparable aptitude for absorbing and merging with the life of another people… They impose upon the other people their own customs, their religion, and a large measure of their American laws and institutions. One reflection: I retain certain reservations about this form of progress, …" He concurred with Theophile Gautier's opinions as expressed in *Voyage en Espange* wherein he bewailed the loss of forms and colors from the world and argued it was God's design to populate the world with "special races, dissimilar in constitution, color, and language. To wish to impose the same uniform design upon the population of all climates is to misconstrue the meaning of Creation." D'Anglade continued this conversational thread noting "it will prove difficult to explain on what grounds of superiority one people should absorb another – claiming 'civilization' as the pretext." pp. 110-11. This seems to underscore Marin's specific complaints about the missionaries' expectations of the Native Hawaiians to conform and the impact of such changes.

Besides Marin, the foreign community's opinion of the missionaries was indeed divided.[215] Most agreed that their cause was worthy and that many were quite pious; it was the extension of activities and judgments beyond the Sabbath and the churchyard that caused friction.[216] Hiram Bingham, the missionaries' leading figure for most of the 1820s and 1830s, observed that there were forty permanent houses, eighteen mission stations, two printing offices, four presses, a bindery, and schools for boarding students by 1845.[217] The missionaries translated the Hawaiian language into a written form and educated the young. They also opined about Hawaiian traditions, and other religious expressions, with the conviction of the righteous. Such narrowness, however, tended toward a lack of appreciation for native cultural expressions in music, dance, *mele* or art forms such as feather work, carving, and construction of buildings and canoes.[218]

The abruptness of the break with values long-held by Native Hawaiians, a schism that was required of them by the missionaries' teachings, took its toll on the ali'i since they were asked to reject their past and fundamental beliefs. The tragedy of Nahi'ena'ena, the sister of Kamehameha III, is one example of the Native Hawaiians' attempt to follow the missionaries' teachings and the condemnation they faced if they retreated from such a foreign way of living.[219] Although the conversion of the ali'i and their children was seemingly successful, almost to the exclusion of other faiths, several of the ruling family struggled with alcohol dependencies.[220] This was more the result of the seeming incompatibility of Native Hawaiian culture with that proscribed or imposed by the missionaries on the ali'i in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. While their predecessors had been forced to suppress cultural differences, Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani grew up under the guidance of missionary schoolteachers.[221] For them, and their peers,

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[215] Olmsted, 200.

[216] Olmsted, 243.

[217] Bingham, 615-16.

[218] Terence Barrow, Introduction to *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands*, 1-5.

[219] Marjorie Sinclair, *Nahienaena Sacred Daughter of Hawaii: A Life Ensnared* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1995).

[220] For example, Anthony Ten Eyck observed of Kamehameha that the "king for some time past has been dissipating badly & it is said ... that he is drunk very frequently." Anthony Ten Eyck to Secretary of State, Despatch No. 52, 2 May 1849, NARA. Kamehameha IV also drank. The missionaries banned alcohol; this prohibition irritated the French, who wanted to import and sell their wines and liquors and so constituted one of Laplace's demands. It also caused problems for Ten Eyck's treaty proposal wherein one article in the document addressed spirituous liquor. Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 8, 20 December 1846.

[221] D'Anglade described Lili'uokalani as aged fifty-two, married to an American, with no children. Physically she was "stoutish, pleasant-featured, dignified, and forceful looking woman. Well-educated and widely read, Lili'uokalani speaks elegant English. Like her late brother she is exceedingly Hawaiian in character and feeling. Yet she too is liberal-minded and possessed of strong sense of duty. By no means

Christianity coexisted and ultimately co-mingled with their traditional belief system from childhood. This enabled Kalākaua to embrace the cultural duality and Lili'uokalani to perpetuate it, despite western criticisms of their efforts to nurture the Native Hawaiian aspects of their creolized, Protestant-Polynesian heritage.

The ability of the missionaries to influence the ali'i, and by extension, their government generated envy, as shown through the 1826 complaints aired on the *Peacock*, and by the arrival of French Catholic missionaries in 1827, who sought for France both souls and material gains equal to those garnered by the American missionaries.[222] The English also noted an undue amount of American interests, claims that perhaps took precedence over those of other countries, and this disgruntled viewpoint contributed to the dispute between Captain Dominis and Henry Skinner. Feelings of ill will between the governments' representatives were heightened by the spectacular collapse of the firm Ladd and Company, a bankruptcy that embroiled the U.S. Commissioners and many of Honolulu's leading citizenry in the 1840s.[223]

On the American's part, the U.S. Consul Joel Turrill's observations of the missionaries reflect certain presumptions made in U.S. diplomatic circles of Hawai'i's gratitude to the nation for sending its proselytizing citizenry abroad. Turrill commented that "the American missionaries are an intelligent and most worthy body of men, who do honor to their high calling, through them we have a strong hold upon this nation. By great self-denial and by unwearied exertions, in disseminating the Gospel, they have conferred lasting blessings upon these islands. Their disinterested labors seem to be duly appreciated by the recipients of these blessings; and the feelings of this people flow

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unaware of the traditions of her people, she fully realizes the need for progress and its beneficial powers." pp. 88-89. The Queen's education was noticed.

[222] These missionaries were ejected from the islands in 1831, and their treatment was one reason cited for Laplace's mission in 1839. By 1848 even Anthony Ten Eyck agreed the missionaries were predominantly "conscientious and well-meaning men." It was only the few, who perhaps began as missionaries, employed as ministers in the government that were corrupted by self-interests and "petty tyranny." Anthony Ten Eyck to Secretary of State, Despatch No. 42, 1 October 1848, NARA.

[223] Regarding Ladd and Company's lawsuit against the King, see Joel Turrill to James Buchanan, 22 December 1848, RG 59 Records of the Department of State, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hawaii, 1820-1903, NARA (microfilm M144); Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 3, 10 July 1846; Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 5, 1 October 1846; Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 7, 5 November 1846; Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 8, 20 December 1846; Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 16, 27 May 1847; Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 21, 23 November 1847; Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 25, 24 December 1847; Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 26, 24 December 1847, NARA; George Brown to Secretary of State, Despatch No. 37, August 1845, NARA; Brown, Despatch No. 38, 29 August 1845; Brown, Despatch No. 68, 15 April 1846; and Brown, Despatch No. 69, 16 May 1846, NARA. Also, Judd, 131-32. Ladd and Company was an American commercial house – or business – established on the islands by the 1830s. In the wake of Laplace, Ladd and Company secured a lease from the Hawaiian government of the islands' unoccupied land for the purpose of cultivating it (probably with sugar cane). An agreement between Peter Brinsmade, one of the principals, and the government tied the lease to recognition of the island Kingdom's independence by the United States, England and France. Brinsmade embarked on a diplomatic tour, but returned to the islands empty-handed. Bradley, 405-08.

naturally towards the United States, as do those of a child towards its parents." Turrill continued, commenting that the King was "ever more desirous of cultivating the friendly relations with the United States…"; he also stated that in his time in the islands[224] some thirty or forty thousand American seamen visited there and American commerce seemed to be thriving, unobstructed by the government even without a treaty.[225]

Obtaining the treaty was the U.S. Commissioner Anthony Ten Eyck's assignment from the State Department.[226] It was viewed as an essential piece of American foreign policy in the Pacific and with the Hawaiian government, especially since both England and France were bound by agreements forged in the wake of the Paulet affair in 1843. The U.S. was anxious for equal, or better, footing in the islands despite already having defacto most favored nation status and having a flourishing trade. Yet its representatives in Honolulu were quite isolated from Washington, D.C.[227] Political negotiations depended very much on the individual personalities. Moreover, claims to status made on behalf of nations were often grand-standing, obscuring the more personal motives and the local nature of the disgruntlements, and thinly disguising base economic wishes regarding property and profitability in the lofty rhetoric of citizen rights.

In Ten Eyck's first address to the Hawaiian King, Kamehameha III, in 1846 he assured the monarch that the United States government would "ask for nothing that is not clearly right…" and would be "the very last nation to seek for an occasion to encroach upon, or harshly or unnecessarily to interfere with the rights and privileges pertaining to the independent sovereignty of Your Majesty's kingdom." As evidence of his country's goodwill and pure motives, Ten Eyck turned to the missionaries and their actions on the islands. He wrote, in a somewhat condescending tone, that

> …I assert that to the liberality of the American Christian & philanthropist & the self-sacrificing spirit of their agents the missionaries your government is mainly indebted for the respectable position it now occupies in the scale of nations. The history of missionary efforts throughout the world can present no brighter page that which records the results of the labors of the American missionaries on these Hawaiian Islands. The American people having contributed so essentially to civilize & Christianize this people & having witnessed with joy & pride their rapid advancement in knowledge & all those Christian virtues which render nations as well as individuals respected & which entitles them to an honorable & independent rank amongst enlightened governments. Your Majesty can regard it

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[224] Turrill came out to the islands on the same ship as Ten Eyck. At the time he wrote this letter he had been living in Honolulu two and one-half years.

[225] Turrill to Buchanan, 22 December 1848.

[226] Buchanan to Ten Eyck, 28 August 1848.

[227] Ten Eyck complained of a lack of correspondence and a lack of attention from Washington in his despatches, for example.

> in no other light than as a true pledge of the lively interest which the government and people of the United States will ever feel in the success & independence of your government, as well their ardent desire to promote the happiness & prosperity of Your Majesty & that of your subjects.[228]

Yet his purpose was commercial. The more "intimate and friendly relations" desired by the U.S. President would bring economic advantage to American interests. Ten Eyck was capitalizing on the characterization of the Hawaiian government as " feeble & inexperienced & dependent upon the generous forbearance of the old & powerful nations of the earth" to win for the clamoring, aggrieved foreign residents the terms they sought legally, in the case of jury trials and punishment[229] as well as in property rights (land titles); and financially through customs, taxes, and reciprocity arrangements on imports and exports. Kamehameha III responded in kind, acknowledging the prosperity brought by American whalers to the islands and the educational and religious instruction the missionaries gave to his people. He spoke of his gratitude, and perhaps with a wry note, of the U.S. interests as mainly philanthropic.[230]

By the time Ten Eyck landed in Hawai'i, the city had become "very conspicuous from the sea, and has more the appearance of a civilized land, with its churches and spires, than any other island in Polynesia…" whereas the plain on which the city with its pattern of streets and substantial buildings looked rather "barren" and was "almost destitute of verdure, and exhibits only a few scattered houses." Nine vessels in the harbor lent the city "an air of importance" and its architecture indicated the wealth such the mercantile ventures brought into the islands.[231] Another visitor, also an American, put the population of Honolulu at around 10,000; of those, approximately six hundred were foreign nationals. Of the town's infrastructure it was noted "the town is laid out regularly in wide streets with adobie [sic] walls running parallel to them. All enclosures here are made of this material, which when plastered with lime and white-washed, as is often the case, have a glaring effect contrasting with the somber walls and dwellings of the natives."[232]

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[228] Anthony Ten Eyck, Office of the U.S. Commissioner, Honolulu to Secretary of State, Despatch No. 1, 22 June 1846, NARA. A copy of his speech was included in the despatch.

[229] The spark for these complaints was the Wiley rape case, details were included in both George Brown's and Anthony Ten Eyck's despatches to the State Department. Jury provisions were included in Ten Eyck's treaty proposal.

[230] Kamehameha III to Anthony Ten Eyck, Enclosure C to Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 1, 22 June 1846.

[231] Fitzpatrick, 68-69, who cites Charles Wilkes, III: 393-413. Wilkes's journals from 1840-41 were published in five volumes by C. Sherman in Philadelphia.

[232] Olmsted, 199. The survey conducted by the *Polynesian* bears Olmsted's numbers out. There were 617 foreigners in January and 627 by June of 1847. Greer, "Honolulu in 1847," 63. Around 1844 Laura Fish Judd mentioned a census that counted nine thousand Honolulu residents, with one thousand of those classified as foreigners. She also noted that eleven warships came to port in the last year, five American, five English, and one French. Judd, 102. On abode walls, see Gilman, 106; Dye, 10-15, who mentioned the walls kept the stray dogs out, or were supposed to. By 1847, these adobe walls had their advocates who

Several years earlier, in 1841, a traveler counted seven boats in the harbor owned by United States citizens and three by English. Proportionally this was indicative of the trade wherein American ships came into the islands twice as often as all other countries' vessels combined and nearly one-half of imports were from the U.S. Similarly there were more American foreign nationals living in Hawaii than representative numbers from other places. The United States sent cotton, chintz, furniture, hardware, copper, iron, cordage, paint, flour, bread, alcohol, and soap, while California hocked its sea otter skins, land furs, and bullock hides and the northwest coast pawned its lumber and salmon.[233] Ten Eyck reported in 1846 that ninety American whale ships came to Lahaina, almost forty to Honolulu, and emphasized how the sheer volume of ships stopping in Hawai'i in July spoke to the "commercial importance of these islands with American interests…"[234] The islands' convenient geography for American traders in the north Pacific was another plus.

Despite American predominance, as illustrated by the numbers of residents, ships, and markets, and the evolving Māhele authorized by Kamehameha III and implemented by foreign nationals led by Washington Place boarder William Little Lee, a small group agitated for more attention, and favors, from the government. They also resisted taking an oath of allegiance to the native government, a recent requisite for some transactions and a source of discontent as it applied to ownership of ships and land. They distrusted the government, citing arbitrary dispossession of land, invalidation of titles, partiality of judges, disregard of jury decisions, and use of stamps and licenses as reasons.[235] It was this contingent that had Ten Eyck's ear.

As a result, the Commissioner quickly took to the defense of Ladd and Company against the government. By December of 1846 Ten Eyck advocated establishing a chamber of commerce to govern the transactions of foreign traders and merchants, that is, to remove them from the purview of the Attorney General, and to obtain the adoption of his proposal for jury trials in sections twelve and seventeen of his treaty by force if necessary. He also feared if the U.S. kept California, than England would find a pretext for taking possession of Hawaii "where they can maintain a naval establishment

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commented on their brightness when describing the town and their detractors. They were often plastered with advertisements of services and wares and were unsuccessful at keeping the "skulking mongrels" out. The weather also took its toll; wind and rain caused the walls to decay and leave ankle-deep grime in the streets. Greer, "Honolulu in 1847," 60.

[233] Olmsted, 209-10.

[234] Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 4, 4 August 1846.

[235] Ten Eyck, Enclosure A, 1 October 1846, NARA. This was a copy of a memorial written and subscribed to in September from American citizens concerning land, and agricultural interests among other things. The subscribers called the character of their business in Hawai'i mercantile, agricultural, and mechanical.

sufficient to command the whole north Pacific."[236] As his treaty negotiations floundered, he despaired that "actual physical force is the only argument I believe that these foreign officials can ever be made to understand";[237] Ten Eyck's disgust for the system that sidelined his ambitions led him to somewhat longingly look back at the gunboat diplomacy of Laplace and Paulet, and presaged the French Consul Dillon's actions around 1850 that precipitated another military-induced crisis and treaty. By the fall of 1848, Ten Eyck repeatedly was requesting a man-of-war to shore up his position, to persuade authorities to take his treaty seriously.[238]

Ten Eyck's initial impression of the King and his ministers, as expressed in a description of the opening of the legislature, "a very novel and interesting sight to me, and … very creditable to the government,"[239] was colored by the friction resulting from legal cases like Ladd and Company and from stalled treaty talks. After two months Ten Eyck wrote to his superiors in Washington of the characters who managed the native government. He confirmed a pre-existing understanding among Anglo-Americans of the king and ali'i chiefs as "mere ciphers" and went on to say that he suspected that they were "often moved contrary to their own convictions of right and duty and much against their own inclinations." Perhaps his unflattering perspective was shaped by his predecessor in office, George Brown, who once, uncharitably, called the king "nothing but a puppet in Judd's hands."[240]

Ten Eyck was no less enamored with Robert Wyllie, the king's Minister for Foreign Relations, who Ten Eyck nonetheless believed wanted to have England annex the islands,

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[236] Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 8, 20 December 1846. Ten Eyck's concerns here echoed that of the State Department and lent a sense of urgency to the treaty talks on the American side. In writing to Ten Eyck, Buchanan stated it was the U.S. "ardent desire that the Hawaiian Islands may maintain their independence. It would be highly injurious to our interests, if, tempted by their weakness, they should be seized by Great Britain or France; more especially so since our recent acquisitions from Mexico on the Pacific Ocean." Buchanan to Ten Eyck, 28 August 1848.

[237] Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 15, 25 May 1847.

[238] Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 42, 1 October 1848. This request was ignored. Commodore DuPont, moreover, declined to act. Also, Ten Eyck was taken to task by Buchanan for his attitude that "might have involved [his] country in an act of war against the Sandwich Islands." Only Congress had that authority, and policy of the U.S. was to treat the Hawaiian government as an independent nation, with rights and privileges as a sovereign state… and while "it may be true that the King has selected as his ministers naturalized foreigners who are covetous, selfish, and cunning, and who seek to gratify their propensities to his detriment…it is our policy, weak and feeble as [the Hawaiian Islands] are, to treat them with as much kindness and forbearance as may be consistent with the maintenance of our own just rights." Buchanan to Ten Eyck, 28 August 1848.

[239] He also described the King's appearance, noting he wore a rich feather cloak of orange color that had been made for his father and was now only worn on state occasions, and defined kāhili as an "immense feather fly brush, an ancient insignia of royalty." Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 4, 4 August 1846.

[240] Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 4, 4 August 1846; Brown, Despatch No. 34, 18 August 1845.

or with John Ricord, the young Attorney General who was "ambitious of distinction, and of having his name much known…" Of the Minister of Finance, Gerrit P. Judd, Ten Eyck was more caustic, perhaps due to Judd's position of influence in the government. He noted that

> Doct[or] Judd came here some twenty years ago as physician to the American missionaries. He speaks the native language fluently and has unbounded influence over the King and his principal chief men. I think him a man of ordinary talent, ambitious, fond of power, self willed and one that allows his personal feelings to control his public acts. On the whole I am convinced he is not a man qualified, either by education experience knowledge character or otherwise to manage the affairs of this kingdom with honor…[241]

Ten Eyck complained that Judd and Ricord "arrayed themselves in determined hostility against every foreigner who will not enter the oath of allegiance[242]… were these men out of office, …everything would go along quite smoothly here, …"[243] Ten Eyck was not alone, however, and Judd's seeming monopoly on access to Kamehameha III and his control of the Treasury as Minister of Finance alienated former friends; the factions were as Ten Eyck described them, parties with Judd and those opposed to him or his policies.[244] The Commissioner also noted that these were his private opinions, unknown to the community within which he lived, and vowed they would not influence his "private or public action or disturb the peaceful relations now existing between all departments of this government and myself."

His promise was soon broken, although the exposure revealed as much about Judd as it did about Ten Eyck's attitude. Wyllie's dismay over the matter, and Ten Eyck's ultimate expulsion in December of 1848, attests to the personal level on which so many political and legal concerns were conducted in the isolated island kingdom. Ten Eyck's superior,

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[241] These descriptions all come from Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 4, 4 August 1846. For more on Judd, see Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 12, 27 March 1847. Here Ten Eyck commented that Judd was wealthy and had lost whatever moral principles he may had initially had, caring "little for the future welfare or independence of the Hawaiian kingdom. He sees that sooner or later in the natural course of events, the native population & of consequences the native government must disappear & so long as he is well provided with the good things of this life, he will make but little real effort to prevent the Islands from passing into other hands." Of Ricord, he smugly noted Ricord's prosecution for embezzlement and departure from Honolulu. Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 15, 25 May 1847. Regarding Ricord, Greer, "Honolulu in 1847," 83-84.

[242] The oath of allegiance continued as a flashpoint. The detention of a vessel (for certification of nationality) presented Ten Eyck with an opportunity to highlight some of the laws of Hawaii "unjust and against the spirit of the English and French treaties" and to ask, somewhat rhetorically, why he would "degrade himself by foreswearing his native allegiance and taking the oath of allegiance to this poor black (nominal) king…" Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 24, 24 November 1847.

[243] Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 4, 4 August 1846.

[244] Gilman, 117.

Secretary of State James Buchanan, approved of the Commissioner's efforts "to secure the just claims of American citizens to lands in the Hawaiian Islands…" but the Secretary admonished him for letting that task circumvent or impede the treaty negotiation process. Moreover, Ten Eyck in defending the interests of Ladd and Company erred as George Brown had done when he acted as a lawyer for James Gray, a seaman accused of assault and battery; both Commissioners raised the ire of their home and host governments. Ten Eyck and Brown fell afoul with the Hawaiian government, in part, by serving as legal counsel. Both were censored by the State Department for improprieties relating to practicing law in Hawai'i while representing the U.S. in diplomatic matters there.[245]

In addition to the legal battles, which engendered ill will, Ten Eyck objected to how the government enforced the registration of various vessels entering the port. He cited violations of the U.S. Navigation Acts, claiming the Hawaiian government allowed ships to sail under their flag to sidestep American prohibitions. Much of this related to trade with the American west coast.[246] The tone of Ten Eyck's correspondence to Wyllie caused the latter to insist such evasions were "not countenanced"[247] by him and to insist that "nothing distresses me more than you finding in my correspondence a want of candor."[248] Ten Eyck's exasperation at his situation – albeit much of it self-inflicted – colored his dispatch to Wyllie and led him to take a somewhat martyred view of how the complaint was addressed by the king. He wrote,

> But when I recur to the past, and review the course of conduct adopted by the King's government towards me, in all my previous attempts to adjust difficulties, and to provide means for avoiding others, in future, I feel that I should be wanting in a proper appreciation of my own official position, and in self-respect, were I again to allow myself to be placed in a position where I might be compelled to submit to the mortification of seeing my time and labor worse than lost, upon this government, my motives impugned, and my position and actions publicly falsified. I must, therefore, adhere to the resolution adopted by me some time since, viz: to keep strictly in the line of my own official duty.

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[245] Buchanan to Ten Eyck, 28 August 1848.

[246] Anthony Ten Eyck to Robert C. Wyllie, Foreign Office, Despatch No. 69, 16 October 1848, Library of Congress; Robert C. Wyllie to Anthony Ten Eyck, No. 15, 17 October 1848, Library of Congress; Robert C. Wyllie to Anthony Ten Eyck, 18 October 1848, Library of Congress; Robert C. Wyllie to Anthony Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 16, 20 October 1848, Library of Congress; Anthony Ten Eyck to Robert C. Wyllie, Despatch No. 70, 23 October 1848, Library of Congress; Anthony Ten Eyck to Robert C. Wyllie, Despatch No. 71, 15 November 1848, Library of Congress; Robert C. Wyllie to Anthony Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 18, 16 November 1848, Library of Congress; Anthony Ten Eyck to Robert C. Wyllie, Despatch No. 72, 21 November 1848, Library of Congress; Robert C. Wyllie to Anthony Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 28, 14 December 1848, Library of Congress; Anthony Ten Eyck to Robert C. Wyllie, Despatch No. 79, 15 December 1848, Library of Congress.

[247] Wyllie to Ten Eyck, 18 October 1848.

[248] Wyllie to Ten Eyck, 25 October 1848.

It was just this interpretation of official duty that led him to collide with the king's government, and his own, in the Ladd case. It also prompted a protest at Theodore Shillaber's mission to California to open trade talks with Governor Mason about reciprocity of flags and importation duties. Ten Eyck believed that diplomatic task was his prerogative and believed Shillaber's appointment was "disrespectful" to him as a representative of the United States. Ten Eyck furthermore argued that if the Hawaiian government were truly interested in a treaty with the United States they would not have sent Shillaber to California but would have reopened discussion about his proposal of the previous February. [249] Ten Eyck requested all the relevant correspondence be printed in the *Polynesian*.

The California escapade allegedly emboldened Ten Eyck to mock Shillaber's mission openly and to hold up "to public scorn the ministers of government to which [Ten Eyck] was accredited" in the *Sandwich Island News*.[250] Judd took exception to the criticism of the government that was, in many respects, synonymous with his policies; he claimed that it came "to my knowledge on respectable authority that Anthony Ten Eyck is the author of the principle articles…"[251] Coming to Ten Eyck's defense were Dr. Robert Wood, R. C. Janion, and John G. Munn; the three signed certificates that Ten Eyck was not the author, rather asserting it was someone in California instead. Wyllie interpreted the statement to be an implication that T.H. Stevens wrote the essays for the *Sandwich Island News*, and noted "no one in the King's ministry believes that."[252] Unfortunately for Ten Eyck, and the *Sandwich Island News*, the editor's office was vandalized. Certain manuscripts were "feloniously taken or purloined" by James Peacock. Adding to the dissention, Peacock confessed to be "instigated and bribed … by Gerrit P. Judd, the King's Minister of Finance, through the instrumentality of W.F. Rogers…" Rogers was also a government official, working for the Collector of Customs. Apparently the $300 payoff was not met. Much to Ten Eyck's dismay, no arrest warrant for Judd was issued.[253] He bemoaned the "ruinous effect" such dishonesty would have on morality and on "common" people's respect for law. He continued,

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[249] Anthony Ten Eyck to Robert C. Wyllie, Despatch No. 65, 9 October 1848 through Despatch No. 68, 17 October 1848, Library of Congress; Robert C. Wyllie to Anthony Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 11, 9 October 1848 through Despatch No. 14, 17 October 1848, Library of Congress.

[250] Robert C. Wyllie, Rosebank, to Anthony Ten Eyck, 4 December 1848, Library of Congress.

[251] Gerrit P. Judd, Minister of Finance, to Robert C. Wyllie, 4 December 1848, Library of Congress (for quotation); Robert C. Wyllie to Gerrit P. Judd, 6 December 1848, and Gerrit P. Judd to Robert C. Wyllie, 6 December 1848, Library of Congress.

[252] Anthony Ten Eyck to Robert C. Wyllie, 7 December 1848, Library of Congress. An excerpt of one of the offending passages read, … [it was] not unusual for Hawaiian statesmen to make their government look ridiculous but [they] should have spared Uncle Sam the indignities." Robert C. Wyllie to Anthony Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 26, 13 December 1848, Library of Congress.

[253] Judd could only be arrested by a royal order because he was serving in the cabinet. John R. Jasper, the Police Justice, informed Elijah Rockwell, the newspaper editor, of that fact. Ten Eyck lobbied for a warrant

> No man's privacy is safe – his private letters and papers, more valuable than the gold in his chest, are likely to be plundered by hired minions, to gratify the curiosity, or the malice of his enemy. The sacred archives of His Majesty's government – of foreign governments, represented here – are liable to be robbed and plundered, to gratify the base passions of unhallowed and disappointed ambition.[254]

It was the pursuit of Judd that sabotaged whatever was left of Ten Eyck's standing with the government, and with that of the U.S. State Department. The Privy Council resolved that the Commissioner was "mistaken" in his legal opinion regarding Judd's culpability and obligation of the government to pursue him; it also resolved to break off all communication with Ten Eyck. [255] Throughout these debates and political posturing, Ten Eyck boarded at Washington Place.

It was within this context of political acrimony within the local community and of international ambition for empire-by-treaty that Anthony Ten Eyck named the Dominis house on Beretania Street "Washington Place." While it was done on the anniversary of George Washington's birthday and played on the cult of Washington that Ten Eyck was familiar with on the mainland, the name was deliberately calculated for its effect in Honolulu. "Washington Place" was a reminder in perpetuity of the United States government and its laws enshrining personal and property rights as well as of the man that led that country to independence from England. Kamehameha III's and Judd's leadership was questioned by Ten Eyck; no one, however, challenged George Washington's qualities. Washington, also, stood up to England – something Ten Eyck feared Hawaii would have to do lest it be subsumed into the British Empire. The semi-official announcement proclaimed the appellation to be

> In honor of the day which gave birth to him who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen" – the great, the good, the illustrious Washington – the United States Commissioner, with the assent of its much esteemed and hospitable proprietress, has this day christened the beautiful, substantial and universally admired mansion of Mrs. Dominis, Washington Place. Thus let it hereafter be designated in Hawaiian annals, and long may it remain, in this distant isle of the Pacific a memento of the eminent virtues of the "Father of his country" and of the enterprise and the distinguished excellencies of its much lamented proprietor.[256]

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for Judd, but the case was dismissed on December 13th. Robert C. Wyllie to Anthony Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 26, 13 December 1848, Library of Congress.

[254] Anthony Ten Eyck to Robert C. Wyllie, Despatch No. 77, 8 December 1848, Library of Congress.

[255] Robert C. Wyllie to Anthony Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 29, 14 December 1848, Library of Congress.

[256] Anthony Ten Eyck to Robert C. Wyllie, 22 February 1848, Hawai'i State Archives (FO & Ex., Box 22, folder 463).

Wyllie, once informed by Ten Eyck, let the king know and Kamehameha III was pleased to accommodate the name, thereby authorizing the christening ceremoniously previously carried out by Ten Eyck with Mary Dominis.[257] Although the note to Wyllie was dated February 22nd, Ten Eyck wrote it had been overlooked in his office for several days; perhaps he delayed notifying the king's minister to preclude any debate on the matter.

Nonetheless, the inspiration for the name "Washington Place" held special meaning for Lili'uokalani especially after she was tapped to succeed her brother on the throne. For example when traveling to London with Queen Kapi'olani in 1887, they stopped on the east coast of the U.S. and visited several cities. While in Washington, D.C., Lili'uokalani went to George Washington's Mount Vernon. The trip began as a pleasure cruise down the Potomac River for Lili'uokalani, and for the various U.S. senators and their wives who accompanied her.[258] They left in a boat placed at their "disposal by the courtesy of the United States government."[259] The cruise ultimately became a more solemn pilgrimage and tribute to the "great man who assisted at the birth of the nation which has grown so great." She went into the house, stopping in the hall, banqueting-room, and bedroom of Martha Washington.[260] The Regent of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, Lily L. Macalester Laughton reported that "it was gratifying to me to learn that the Queen of Hawaii in her recent visit to Mount Vernon was so deeply impressed by the solemn and touching associations of the place, that she frankly expressed surprise and disapproval of levity indulged in by some of the company, and desired to be quiet and undisturbed when going into the room in which the Father of his Country died. This is a feeling that Mount Vernon should inspire, and it is always pleasant to hear of those who come to it in that spirit."[261] Lili'uokalani herself wrote of the experience, "although the

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[257] Mary Dominis is said to be connected in some way to the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, but archival records do not indicate she was a Vice Regent and she was in Hawai'i well before MVLA was founded. The Regent for Massachusetts was Mrs. Horatio Greenough; it is possible they knew each other and when the MVLA was fundraising, that Dominis contributed. Jennifer Kittlaus, Research Librarian, George Washington's Mount Vernon Estate and Gardens, to Virginia B. Price, electronic communication, 13 July 2007.

[258] One of the Senators was John Sherman, later Secretary of State under McKinley. He assisted the Queen with her appeal against the annexation treaty. Sherman was against expansion and resigned in protest over the Spanish-American War. Corinne Chun Fujimoto to Virginia B. Price, electronic communication, 11 October 2007; Lili'uokalani, 357.

[259] Lili'uokalani, 124.

[260] Lili'uokalani, 124-27. It appears she returned to Mount Vernon, commenting that rooms they were allowed in earlier now had bars across the openings. p. 126. This would collaborate the Superintendent's recollection that Lili'uokalani visited in 1893 with Mr. Carter, the American Minister to Hawai'i. Colonel Harrison Howell Dodge, *Mount Vernon: Its Owner and Its Story* (1932), 103. Dodge also noted on 6 May 1887 that the Queen of the Sandwich Islands visited, along with a large party. Jennifer Kittlaus to Virginia B. Price, 24 July 2007. See also, "Ex-Queen Is Patriotic," *The Washington* (5 August 1899), 2.

[261] Minutes of the Council of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union, 1887, 5.

Queen's [Kapi'olani] party were silent, and exchanged no comments, it seemed to me that we were one in our veneration of the sacred spot and of the first President of his country."[262] Lili'uokalani undoubtedly could appreciate the struggles of Washington to hold his country together and, with her brother's wife Queen Kapi'olani, took time to reflect on the magnitude of that achievement and the parallels to their position at home.

The last part of the dedication of Washington Place references the late proprietor, Captain John Dominis. Ten Eyck heralded his entrepreneurial talents. Such enterprise broadly characterized the mythic American experience wherein an individual's work and industry brought success. Capitalism, and the commercial interests it fostered, pitted merchants against missionaries in the 1820s, and foreign residents against a missionary-turned-government agent, Judd, in the 1840s and 1850s. The special interests of the sugar planters entered into the annexation debate of the 1890s,[263] and the economic outlook of a small group of Americans precipitated the overthrow of the monarchy in January of 1893. As for Lili'uokalani herself, she sought out her husband's relatives in the Boston area and was welcomed there.[264] One, William Lee, helped her publish her autobiography; others defended her during the overthrow and annexation period. They, perhaps, appreciated Dominis's "distinguished excellencies" more so than his business sense.

At home, though, this piece of American soil symbolically entrenched in the heart of Honolulu, in the civic center of the islands, by Ten Eyck gradually became not an outpost or niggling reminder of American aspirations but a touchstone for Hawaiian hopes embraced within its classical veneer. Its significance today derives from Queen Lili'uokalani's presence, less so than for the name, Washington Place.[265] That moniker cloaked within the language of commemoration America's imperial ambitions. It allowed the Commissioner to assert a U.S. presence, and garner the king's symbolic support,

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[262] Lili'uokalani, 127.

[263] RG 46 Records of the U.S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Hawaii Annexation 25 May 1897 to 18 February 1899, NARA (boxes 116-18). At the time of the Queen's ascension to the throne, a proposed treaty with the U.S. was floated; her reign also coincided with the McKinley tariff, passed in 1890. The interests of the sugar planters dominated commercial discussions as well as labor and immigration, although the latter had more to do with racial prejudices pitting economic needs for workers against who was available, and willing, to do the job. A sampling of newspaper accounts follows: "The Situation in Hawaii: Kalakaua's Death Will Not Affect the Condition of Affairs," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (22 January 1891), 7; "The Iroquois Bound for Honolulu," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (20 March 1891), 2; *Chicago Daily Tribune* (25 March 1891), 5; "The Proposed Treaty with Hawaii," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (2 May 1891), 13; "From Hawaii: A Cabinet Change, The Season's Sugar Yield," *Los Angeles Times* (5 August 1891), 5. Also, "History of Hawaiian Treaty, ..." S. doc 206 (57-2) 4430.

[264] Lili'uokalani, 128-30; Lili'uokalani, Diary, 7 May 1887; "Our Hawaiian Visitors," *Boston Daily Globe* (8 May 1887), 12; "The Queen in Boston," *Washington Post* (9 May 1887), 2; and "A Breakfast to the Queen," *Washington Post* (10 May 1887), 1.

[265] The NHL designation, for example, is due to Queen Lili'uokalani's role in history.

despite a political stalemate that tabled U.S. treaty negotiations and left relations between the United States, England, France, and Hawai'i unsettled.

While the world powers quibbled over rights to Hawai'i, the native population was dwindling at an alarming clip.[266] Ten Eyck estimated in 1849 that almost twenty thousand had died within the year, and the whole population numbered no more than seventy thousand. He asked his superiors at the State Department, in the context of a population dying out, "what government is most likely to advance the protectorate of these islands?"[267] Up until the last decades of the nineteenth century the government sought protection from the United States, England, or France, using diplomatic language and flattering subservience to circumvent hostilities and territorial concessions. By conceding their status as a "weak and feeble" nation to the trio of western governments, Hawaiian officials counted on the ambitions of each to keep the others at bay. That they were successful in catering to the countries' desired international image is demonstrated through the English reversal of Paulet's seizure of the kingdom in 1843, the agreement with Luther Severence, then U.S. Commissioner, for a temporary American protectorate – only if necessary – in 1851, and James Blount's report to the U.S. Congress in 1894 on the "affairs in Hawai'i" that failed to endorse the overthrow, instead favoring a restoration of the monarchy.[268]

The Hawaiian government also adopted the language of the western powers, both in legal code and in material representations of authority. Laws were codified under Kamehameha III. Property rights were defined according to English common law; patents, surveys, and land titles followed. 'Iolani Palace became a building of state, rather than the personal property of the monarch, and other civic structures were constructed. Kalākaua commissioned a new palace building, one that reflected current taste and one that through its scale, architectural detail, and cost would compete with those he had seen in other countries. He also sought, through the coronation rites of 1883, to reiterate his status as monarch; the crown and clothing came from Europe and it was to that audience the ceremony and symbols were aimed. The ritual of the day, however, featured traditional song and dance and so also sought to reaffirm Native Hawaiian heritage.[269]

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[266] Western diseases to which they had no immunity took their toll on the populace.

[267] Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 21, 23 November 1847 (for quotation); Anthony Ten Eyck to Secretary of State, Despatch No. 55, 3 September 1849, NARA.

[268] The Blount report made a case for the restoration of the monarchy. Cleveland's minister Albert S. Willis went to Hawai'i to try to negotiate, but apparently the Queen's hesitancy in granting a full pardon to those who deposed her as well as Dole's refusal to yield power, sidelined the talks and Cleveland ultimately turned the dilemma over to Congress. The Congressional investigation, the Morgan report, essentially absolved the U.S. for its representative's role in the overthrow of a government against the will of a majority of its people. Kuykendall, vol. III: 1874-93, 628.

[269] On the perpetuation of Native Hawaiian culture, see Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Mehmed Ali, "Ho'ohui'aina Pala Ka Mai'a: Remembering Annexation One Hundred Years Ago," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 32

The success of this combination of western symbols of royalty and Hawaiian cultural expression is debatable,[270] but it speaks to an urgency pervading the era that was driven by competing influences for power and by varying perceptions of authority.

Lili'uokalani, too, used fashion to communicate. She dressed in western-style clothing, sometimes in gowns ordered from Paris,[271] and lived in Washington Place, one of the most expensive houses constructed in Honolulu and far from the thatched hut associated with Native Hawaiian domestic settings in the early part of the century.[272] The pantry inventoried after her death in 1917 reveals copious glassware, flatware, and tableware. The wine cellar was attributed to her husband, John O. Dominis, and oral tradition is contradictory as to whether she smoked. Neither drinking alcohol nor smoking was an acceptable behavior to the missionaries.[273]

And while Lili'uokalani had a full figure, derogatory comments about her appearance were generally limited to the color of her "dusky" skin in the 1890s and early 1900s. Those comments, however, played to American racial prejudices and were intended to highlight difference or a sense of otherness, just as the reference to Chinese immigrants as "coolies" distinguished and derided those workers.[274] Weight, while a subject of

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(1998): 141-53; "Many Thousands of Native Hawaiians Sign a Protest to the United States Government against Annexation," *San Francisco Call* (30 September 1897) [transcript on file at Washington Place]; Public Law 103-150, 103rd Cong., 1st sess. (23 November 1993), 1510-14; Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, *...Offer of Apology to Native Hawaiians on Behalf of the United States for the Overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii*, report submitted by Mr. Inouye, 103d Cong., 1st sess., 1-35.

[270] For example upon Kalākaua's death, he was described in an American press as a king in name only that was "much beloved by his ignorant countrymen for whom he was willing but unable to assist." *Chicago Daily Tribune* (24 January 1891), 8. The same article referenced Lili'uokalani's political leanings toward the native party rather than the missionary party and the natives' "awareness" of her sympathies. A bit hysterical, it also said this might induce them to rise up. Further adding to the disquiet, the newspaper noted the leaders of both political parties were "obstinate."

[271] Lili'uokalani mentioned her clothing during her trip to the Jubilee ceremonies in London in 1887 and her brother's coronation in 1883. Lili'uokalani, 100; Lili'uokalani, Diary, 6 May 1887; Lili'uokalani, Diary, 17 May 1887; Lili'uokalani, Diary, 6 June 1887. Also in 1887, upon driving in Central Park and seeing the grooms dressed in liveries, she determined to get suits for her grooms. Lili'uokalani, Diary, 16 May 1887.

[272] On her property in Waikīkī, however, she had a grass house. This was her private property (specifically the lot at Paoakalani) and so not part of her western-directed public persona. She was furious when young vandals destroyed the grass as the materials were precious and so difficult to replace. She recommended sending the culprits to a reform school. Lili'uokalani to J.O. Carter, 1 November 1905, Hui Hānai Collection.

[273] Greer, "Grog Shops and Hotels," 37-48.

[274] "Democratic Love of a Colored Person," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (12 January 1894), 6; "Queen Lil, Her Book: The Dusky Has-Been Writes the Story of her Lost Realm," *Los Angeles Times* (16 January 1898), A1; [cartoon], *Chicago Daily Tribune* (8 September 1897), 1; "Superstition of Hawai'i's Queens," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (7 May 1893), 10; "Bloodshed! No Fear of that in Islands…," *Boston Daily Globe* (25 April

discussion of early visitors to the islands who consistently observed a "corpulence" among the females they encountered, crossed national lines for Mary Dominis herself carried over two hundred pounds; she also had a cloak made because the ready-wear samples were too small.[275]

Standards of beauty and taste, as exemplified by the weight-conscious comments of Dominis and Lili'uokalani,[276] were consistent across cultures in nineteenth-century Honolulu and extended from the individual to domestic settings. The Queen's awareness of this is illustrated through her use of Washington Place as a symbol of her refinement, comportment, and way of living once the monarchy was overthrown in 1893.[277] The well-finished house was furnished and staffed; pictures of Kapi'olani and Lili'uokalani at Queen Victoria's Jubilee were displayed. These were to demonstrate that Hawai'i's royalty were recognized and accepted as the rightful rulers of their country and that they held a rank equal to the monarchs of Europe.

The photographs of Washington Place in the 1880s, 1890s, and in 1910 documented her education and quiet lifestyle. The 1898 images,[278] with the *Pumehana* banner hung over

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1893), 6; "Pa Was a Barber," *Atlanta Constitution* (16 November 1893), 1 [disparages race]; "The Hawaiian Queen," *Atlanta Constitution* (3 December 1893), 18; "Queen Lili'uokalani's Song," *Boston Daily Globe* (12 December 1893), 8; "Still Off the Throne," *Washington Post* (24 November 1893), 1; and "Dupes the Nation," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (14 January 1894), 1.

[275] Letter to Mary Dominis, 17 May 1866, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 9, folder 90); Letter, n.d., Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 9, folder 93). Weight becomes something with which the newspapers degraded the Hawaiian delegation at the St. Louis fair in 1904. See, for example, "Queen Stuck in Doorway," *New York Times* (13 May 1904), 1; "Royalty and Doorways," *New York Times* (22 May 1904), 1; "Relics of Dark Ages," *Washington Post* (15 December 1903), 14. The Queen did visit the fair, but did not stay. Other papers reported she left because she was taken ill, which is undoubtedly accurate although the treatment of not only herself but also of her countrymen at the hands of a prejudicial press could not have encouraged her to linger. "Lili'uokalani Is Ill," *New York Times* (12 may 1904), 1; "Queen Lili'uokalani, Because of Sickness, Will Return to Hawaii," *Washington Post* (12 May 1904), 4. The representation of the Queen in 1903-04 contrasts with the commentary at the 1893 fair wherein the Hawaiian exhibition of the hula dance was regarded as beautiful and the Queen herself described as "good looking." *Chicago Daily Tribune* (3 March 1893), 10.

[276] Lili'uokalani, Ebbitt House, to J.O. Carter, 21 May 1898, Hui Hānai Collection. The Queen, recovering from illness – probably cancer – wrote that she was feeling better and able to exercise. She stated that she used to weigh over two hundred pounds, but now registered at only 167. That is a fairly dramatic weight loss and speaks to the severity of her illness.

[277] A retrospective essay on the Queen in 1912 noted she was once a favorite subject of cartoonists, but now on occasion she would "drive out in an open carriage" and so the author could see that she was "a really impressive figure, large, dark, and with an air of distinction not unqueenly." In earlier years she was a "woman of force and pride" but now retired, she lived "serenely in her beautiful old home shaded with tropical foliage." *Christian Science Monitor* (5 October 1912), 35.

[278] It was reported in 1899 that she had new portraits done as well. "Hawaiian Royalty," *New York Times* (13 January 1899), 5.

the front door, record her welcome-home by her people, her loyal subjects.[279] The photograph of the Queen sitting at the desk speaks to the seizure of her personal papers from that piece of furniture in 1895, as well as her ability to communicate and to her responsibilities to those at home (literally at Washington Place and more figuratively in Hawai'i) and abroad. The desk, and the Jubilee photographs, were highlighted in the 1895 *Commercial Pacific Advertiser* essay that took the newspaper's readers on a tour through the house. The author was invited by the Queen's representatives to the house. The solicitation further substantiates the Queen's cognizance of the power of material culture to persuade. Here, with the images plus those conveyed through her book *Hawai'i's Story*,[280] challenged in a visual way the portrayals of her and her country as pagan, somewhat barbaric, and brutal. The *Pumehana* banner, and the image of the Queen and her supporters somberly gathered in the makai-Waikīkī parlor on annexation day, also personalize and humanize the over twenty-one thousand signatures on the 556 anti-annexation petitions submitted to Congress.[281]

Lili'uokalani and her supporters hoped, of course, to dissuade the United States from annexing Hawai'i in 1893 and 1894, in the wake of the monarchy's overthrow.[282] The flashpoint for the revolution against the Queen had been her proposal for a new constitution, one that would restore a measure of authority to the monarchy and, thus,

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[279] On this occasion, Washington Place was described as having spacious grounds, enough to host the many retainers. There were "servants in livery at the great gates" and "torch-bearers at the main entrance to the house." Through "open windows of the garland-twined verandahs, the Queen [was] seen eating , alone at a plain deal table..." "Lost Royalty ... Sad Home-Coming of Hawaii's Throne-less Queen," *Los Angeles Times* (23 August 1898), 5.

[280] Announcements of her book appeared in various mainland presses. See, for example, "An Epic of Polynesia," *Washington Post* (21 November 1897), 23; *Chicago Daily Tribune* (23 January 1898), 43.

[281] "Hawaiians Against a Change," *New York Times* (7 November 1897), 24; "Hawaiians Oppose Annexation," *New York Times* (22 September 1898), 5; "Lost Royalty ... Sad Home-Coming of Hawaii's Throne-less Queen," *Los Angeles Times* (23 August 1898), 5; "Queen Lil's Sad Hours," *Washington Post* (18 September 1898), 9; *Atlanta Constitution* (9 September 1898), 3. The petitions themselves are on file in the National Archives (RG 46).

[282] "Files a Protest," *Los Angeles Times* (18 June 1897), 3. She went up against Lorrin Thurston (again). He was a founder of the Hawaiian League that forced the "Bayonet Constitution" on Kalākaua in 1887 and a founder of the Annexation Club in 1892, and was one of the revolutionaries that deposed the Queen in 1893. His grandparents were among the first missionaries to arrive in Hawai'i. And he was the leading proponent for annexation in 1892-94, traveling to Washington to press the Provisional Government's case to Congress. Various newspapers reported on the overthrow and the Provisional Government's appeals for annexation by the U.S. in 1893. A sampling follows: "Revolution," *Boston Daily Globe* (29 January 1893), 1; "Revolt in Hawaii," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (29 January 1893), 1; "Safety Only in Annexation," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (29 January 1893), 2; "How the News Was Received in Washington," *Los Angeles Times* (29 January 1893), 1; "The Revolution in Hawaii," *New York Times* (29 January 1893), 4; "Begging for Annexation...," *New York Times* (29 January 1893), 2; "Hawaii Breaks Away," *Washington Post* (29 January 1893), 1; "The Annexation of Hawaii," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (30 January 1893), 4; "Some Interesting Questions...," *New York Times* (30 January 1893), 2; "Hawaii's Wish," *Boston Daily Globe* (2 February 1893), 1.

circumscribe some of the powers of the legislature and life-tenured justices awarded by the 1887 Bayonet Constitution.[283] Despite appeals from Native Hawaiians for such a change, the Queen's ministers failed to support her initiative and the American diplomat, John L. Stevens, backed the haole-led opposition. He also encouraged the troops on the *USS Boston* to land in Honolulu (a suggestion of force that Ten Eyck hoped for but could not obtain years earlier). An air of crisis descended on the city. Those men who sought and exacted a change in government from the Queen were aligned with the missionary party and were members of the Hawaiian League; they chose Sanford B. Dole as the Provisional Government's President. Nonetheless, the Provisional Government remained unsure of its position and almost immediately sought annexation from the United States. Initial efforts by the Native Hawaiians to forestall annexation were successful and the measure defeated, but not vanquished. Annexation resurfaced in 1897.[284] Once expansionism reached a fevered pitch during the Spanish-American War, interests of U.S. national security trumped any regard for native sovereignty or the wishes of the Native Hawaiians themselves.[285]

President Cleveland's Commissioner, James Blount, who was sent to investigate and assess the affairs in Hawaii in 1893, duly reported his findings to Congress. [286] Blount did

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[283] Other issues were the opium trade and lottery. Lili'uokalani, 239-42.

[284] "Files a Protest," *Los Angeles Times* (18 June 1897), 3 (also, on the same date, *Chicago Daily*, p. 9, *Boston Daily Globe*, p. 5, *New York Times*, p. 1; and *The Washington*, p. 1, all reference this protest); "Hawai'i's Ex-Queen in Town," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (19 July 1898), 5; on annexation, *Chicago Daily Tribune* (8 July 1898), 1; "Hawai'i Is Now American," *New York Times* (8 July 1898), 7; "Queen Lili'uokalani to Go Home," *New York Times* (8 July 1898), 7; "Queen to Claim Crown Lands," *New York Times* (24 July 1898), 3; "Will Claim Crown Lands," *Washington Post* (24 July 1898), 3; "The Hawaiian Commission," *New York Times* (21 September 1898), 5; "Pursued by Queen Lili'uokalani," *Washington Post* (7 October 1898), 4; "Queen Lili'uokalani Wants Congress to Pay for her Throne," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (8 October 1898), 1; "Ex-Queen Back Again," *Washington Post* (22 November 1898), 9; "Hawaii's Ex-Queen Arrives," *New York Times* (22 November 1898), 7; "Queen Lili'uokalani Files a Protest," *Washington Post* (21 December 1898), 9, *New York Times* (21 December 1898), 5, and *Atlanta Constitution* (21 December 1898), 3; and "Lili'uokalani Appeals to House," *New York Times* (12 January 1899), 7.

[285] This is debated in Congress currently as the Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act makes its way through the legislative process. This would restore a measure of self-governance, in accordance to that proffered to Native American and Alaskan groups. Also, regarding hopes at the time, see "Expect to Restore the Queen," *New York Times* (10 July 1900), 2. And more recent articles touching on the same subject include, "Native Hawaiians Seek Redress for U.S. Role in Ousting Queen," *New York Times* (11 December 1999), A20; "Apology for 1893 Rebellion," *New York Times* (17 November 1993), A16; "Apology made to Hawaiians," *Christian Science Monitor* (29 October 1993), 20; "Late Bow to Hawaiian Queen Overthrown 100 Years Ago," *New York Times* (15 January 1993), A18. The Annexation Treaty was ratified by the Senate in 1898, over the objections of the Native Hawaiians and many within the United States.

[286] *Affairs in Hawai'i*, entire; "Dole's Government Defiant," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (6 January 1894), 1; "The President Abandons Lili'uokalani," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (15 February 1894), 6; "Hawai'i for Hawaiians," *New York Times* (21 November 1893), 1; "The Overthrow of a Queen," *New York Times* (21 November 1893), 9; "Results of Blount's Inquiry," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (21 November 1893), 2; "Aid

take into account the Native Hawaiian government's perspective, and three *kanaka maoli* groups coalesced in order to give the Native Hawaiians a voice, to tell of their *aloha 'aina* (a love of the land, but one that was a deeper connection than mere patriotism as the land was the source of life and livelihood in the islands), and of their hopes for their Queen's restoration. The Queen temporarily acquiesced – not seeking the new President Sanford Dole's head or anyone else's[287] – to prevent the bloodshed so ominously threatened by the presence of U.S. troops from the *Boston*; she undoubtedly trusted in the Americans' diplomatic language that honored her "weak and feeble" sovereign nation, despite Stevens' collusion with the revolutionaries.

As with Paulet in 1843, his government's investigation, and the restoration of the monarchy, Lili'uokalani was confident the United States would act in kind and that if the Americans hesitated, other countries would come to her assistance, as they had done through various treaties, and strategic ports-of-call of warships, for Kamehameha III. Congress accepted the Blount report in 1894 but ignored its recommendations, not backing them with any vigor. When asked by President Cleveland, Dole refused to dissolve his government. Kamehameha III's liberator came in a warship; Lili'uokalani, once released from prison, paroled and allowed to leave Washington Place and the islands in 1895, had to go to Washington, D.C.

Once in the U.S., the Queen refused to be drawn into public debate or spectacle.[288] Her focus was on preventing the annexation requested by the Provisional Government – for which she had several anti-expansionist allies in the Senate such as Richard Pettigrew[289] – and on her status as monarch, both for restoration of the throne and for compensation for the seizure of her property along with that of the Hawaiian government.[290] The

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from Blount," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (20 November 1893), 1; "Cleveland's Letter to Dole," *Washington Post* (19 November 1893), 4; "A Period of Intrigue…," *Washington Post* (16 November 1893), 7; "Cleveland Recognizes Hawai'i," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (10 August 1894), 6; and "Provisionals Sure to Resist," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (13 November 1893), 5; "Safety Only in Annexation," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (29 January 1893), 2. Also various articles published on the 11th and 12th of November called for the restoration of the monarchy – righting a wrong and "put[ting] her back". These appeared in the Boston, Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles papers.

[287] In 1909 the *Christian Science Monitor* went so far as to venture perhaps Lili'uokalani had been "misrepresented" by Sanford Dole. "Fair Treatment for Lili'uokalani," *Christian Science Monitor* (23 January 1909), 10.

[288] She says as much in her book. Lili'uokalani, 323.

[289] "He Is Against Annexation," *Atlanta Constitution* (15 February 1898), 1.

[290] The Republic transferred its public property to the U.S. in the wake of annexation. See S. doc 151 (55-3) 3735. At that time, the inventory accounted for 145 acres of valuable building lots, 25,626 acres of cane lands, 977 acres of rice, 76,270 in coffee, 20,000 acres encumbered by a government interest in the homestead, 451,200 acres of grazing lands, 681,282 acres of high forest land, 227,000 acres of rugged, inaccessible lands, and 300,000 acres of barren land. The inventory noted the crown lands were included in the acreage totals, as under the 1895 land act they were controlled by the Commissioners of Public Lands. Since then some 9960 acres were patented.

Queen's supporters in Washington, DC, while fighting against annexation, also sought to procure some compensation for her loss of income from the crown lands.[291] The Provisional Government had assumed all the public land, as well as the crown lands, and by denying her rights or incumbency to the property they gave physical and financial expression to the political coup staged in 1893. By writing into the Republic's constitution that title to the crown lands was free and clear, the framers of the overthrow symbolically erased Lili'uokalani and the monarchy altogether. [292]

Without a monarchy, there could be no Queen; by interpreting the crown lands as belonging to the government – a government they defined – Dole and his colleagues stripped Lili'uokalani of her ancestral rights to the throne and to the income of the crown lands.[293] They erased the dynastic system that was superimposed on that of the ali'i when Kamehameha I united the kingdom, much as the missionaries sought to exorcise and replace a traditional heritage with their own. Couched in such legalese, the seizure of the Hawaiian Islands and the Queen's person and property became viewed in the U.S. as a moral issue rather than a legal one in the early decades of the twentieth century. Her appeals to Congress failed; her last effort to force the U.S. to admit the illegalities of the 1893 overthrow also languished, only to be denied in the Court of Claims in 1910.[294]

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[291] This she decided to do once annexation was confirmed by the Senate in July of 1898 and it prompted her return visit to Washington that fall. Also, "Claims of Queen Lil," *Washington Post* (26 October 1902), 13; [Cash for Lili'uokalani], *Chicago Daily Tribune* (26 February 1903), 4.

[292] The Provisional Government was succeeded by the Republic of Hawai'i on 4 July 1894. Sanford Dole remained its President. This change came after the Provisional Government's appeal for annexation failed. Sovereignty of the Republic was ceded to the United States in 1897 and ratified by the Senate in July of 1898. Dole apparently set his sights on the Crown Lands in the early 1870s, see Osorio, 182-87.

[293] On Dole and the constitution's land law, Burlin, 219-27.

[294] Lili'uokalani v. United States, 45 Ct. Cl. 418 (1910), RG 123 Records of the U.S. Court of Claims, Box 2200, General Jurisdiction Case Files, 1855-1939, Case No. 30577, NARA. Also, "Lili'uokalani Defeated Again," *Wall Street Journal* (19 May 1910), 6; "Lili'uokalani Loses Again," *Washington Post* (19 May 1910), 2; "Lili'uokalani Loses Again," *New York Times* (19 May 1910), 6. The diaries she kept from 1901 to 1906 were written in code; this perhaps was cautionary due to the pressing bill in Congress, to the hurtful newspaper accounts, and perhaps even with her dissatisfaction with how Kūhiō represented her case on Capitol Hill. Lili'uokalani, Diary, various dates, Bishop Museum. "The Visit of Lili'uokalani," *New York Times* (25 November 1902), 8; and "Lili'uokalani in Washington," *New York Times* (24 November 1902), 1. In a letter to Lili'uokalani, Kūhiō protested that he "hoped she would realize that [he] has a more personal interest in her claim than any measure [he] had pending before Congress." Kūhiō wrote that even her supporters, Blackburn and Mitchell admitted she had no claim that could be established in a court of law; moreover, even if she was allowed to sue for compensation, no favorable verdict would be forthcoming. He believed the Senators conceded that any payment would be "merely an act of grace of a strong nation toward a former sovereign of a weak nation." He also claimed that the Senators were working for her claim out of friendship for him. Kūhiō to Lili'uokalani, letter, n.d., Kalani'anaole Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-474). The Queen notes in her diary (written in code) about the progress of her bill through Congress in 1903 and its defeat in March. Lili'uokalani, Diary, 9 February, 28 February, 3 March 1903, Bishop Museum.

Lili'uokalani, however, did not relinquish her obligations to her country and its inhabitants. This took an immediate financial toll. Once in Washington, she asked for more of her clothes to be sent for it was "so dressy" there; she negotiated with various hotels for appropriate suites and asked for monies to pay the bills. She moved to less expensive quarters and, privately, expressed her annoyance with the young in her retinue that refused to work and who were eating her out of house and home. She sought less expensive markets.[295] Once annexation occurred in July of 1898, the Queen's public fiscal tenor changed. She pressed her claim for compensation to members of Congress in the 1900s;[296] newspapers ceased to purport her wealth.[297] Lili'uokalani depended on her nephew, Prince Kūhiō, to advocate for her; by naming him one of her heirs, she strategically built in leverage – motivation of sorts – to gain his support.[298]

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[295] The Queen stayed at the Cairo initially (1897), and then at the Ebbitt House (1897, 1898, 1902); she returned to Washington in 1899, this time renting lodging at 1418 15th Street, NW. In 1902, she moved from the Ebbitt to a house on O Street in the spring, returning that fall to the Ebbitt briefly and then taking a house on 20th Street. Similarly, in 1904 she stayed at 1508 21st Street, NW. Later that year she returned to the neighborhood, but lived in a different block at No. 1729 21st Street, NW. Lili'uokalani to J.O. Carter, 14 April 1897, Hui Hānai Collection (quotation regarding dress); "For More Money…" *Boston Daily Globe* (30 November 1908). 8; and "Lili'uokalani's New Quarters," *Washington Post* (16 February 1897). She also mortgaged her property for her commissioners Kawananakoa and Neuman in 1893. Lili'uokalani, Diary, 31 January 1893. References to expenses and debts reveal her worries about the same, see for example, Lili'uokalani, Diary, 24 October 1893; Diary, 28 December 1894. Also, Lili'uokalani, Diary, various dates in January, June, and November 1902, Bishop Museum.

[296] The amounts vacillated between $200,000 and $10 million dollars. The smaller amounts were strategically chosen, hoping Congress would grant a token amount, and as Lili'uokalani lost patience with Kūhiō and the process, she submitted a claim for the higher figure come what may.

[297] Contrast "Abandons Hope: Queen Lil Now a Poor Woman," *Los Angeles Times* (10 February 1910), I8; "Lili'uokalani Arrives," *Boston Daily Globe* (23 November 1908), 11 and *New York Times* (23 November 1908), 1; "Ex-Queen a Borrower," *Washington Post* (13 November 1908), 3; "Queen Gives Mortgage," *Los Angeles Times* (12 November 1908), I4; "Queen Lili'uokalani Borrows 70k," *New York Times* (12 November 1908), 1, and "Lili'uokalani Tells Story of Her Life, … aged and broken and poor …" *Boston Daily Globe* (14 February 1909), SM12, with "Lili'uokalani Growing Old and her Latest Portrait," *Boston Daily Globe* (26 November 1906) wherein the paper insisted she stayed in an "aristocratic section of town" and "Hawaii's Ex-Queen in Town," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (19 July 1898), 5 wherein she was reportedly "wealthy." Also evidence of her monetary worries was an ill-conceived notion of marrying a Tahitian prince in 1907. She referenced the prince's proposal in her diary, whereas he stated his intentions to the press; unfortunately, he needed cash and mistakenly believed rumors as to her wealth. "To Wed the Ex-Queen," *Boston Daily Globe* (5 September 1907), 3; "Heavy Husband for the Ex-Queen," *Atlanta Constitution* (5 September 1907), 3; and "He Will Marry Queen Lil," *Washington Post* (4 September 1907), 1; Lili'uokalani, Diary, 26 November 1906. The Congressional Committee on Claims heard a bill for her relief as late as 14 January 1909. This was for a mere $250,000 as compensation for the loss of the crown lands and income. Asked whether the money was perceived as a "matter of right or as a matter of grace," George B. McClellan (who had lived in Hawai'i only for a decade, but presented the Queen's petition for her) answered, "on the part of the claimants it is asked as a matter of right, but it is asked to be given on the part of the United States as an act of grace." *Claim of Lili'uokalani, Former Queen of the Hawaiian Islands* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1909), 21.

[298] On Kūhiō and his efforts in presenting her claim to Congress, Lili'uokalani, Diary, 13 February 1906; 3 March 1906; 12 March 1906; 17 April 1906; and 24 April 1906.

Kūhiō was just one of her beneficiaries, however. In 1909, as her legal case was filed in the Court of Claims, Lili'uokalani made a will. Monetary bequests were qualified; they were largely dependent on a successful resolution of her lawsuit. The Dominis children were to receive personal property, as were some others. Predominantly, though, the will established a trust for orphaned children. Washington Place, she thought perhaps could be a library or an institution for preserving Hawaiian language and music.[299] Kūhiō was dissatisfied with his allocation, particularly regarding a parcel of land in Waikīkī, and questioned whether the Queen – broken by defeat in Washington – knew what she was doing.[300] His lawsuit ensnared the Queen's estate for several years, only put to rest after she died when he was awarded the Waikīkī parcel. During litigation, legal counsel for the

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[299] W.O. Smith's Memoranda re: Lili'uokalani Trust Deed, 23 February 1910, Lili'uokalani Trust, Hawai'i State Archives (M-397, folder 2). Also, "Ex-Queen to Endow Orphans," *New York Times* (4 December 1909), 4.

[300] Lori Kamae, *The Empty Throne: A Biography of Hawai'i's Prince Cupid* (Honolulu: Topgallant Publishing Company, Ltd., 1980), 173-75. Kūhiō filed suit in 1915 with the intention of invalidating or breaking the trust deed the Queen established in 1909 and confirmed in 1910. His primary concern appeared to be title to the Queen's Waikīkī property and to be the property bequeathed to the hānai boys, Joseph Aea (whose death precipitated an update to the deed which alerted Kūhiō to the state of affairs) and John Aimoku Dominis. Dominis died before inheriting anything as well; he, however, had married and had three children. The Queen originally wanted Aimoku to have Washington Place and Aea the Waikīkī parcel. Kūhiō's litigation, although initially stymied, prevailed after the Queen's death and he received title to Kealohilani in Waikīkī and Washington Place devolved to the Territorial government (for a fee, intended to benefit the Trust, after satisfying the "interest" of the Dominis minors, and relieving it of perpetual maintenance costs). "Suit to Break Hawaiian Trust," *Christian Science Monitor* (14 April 1916), 12; and "Hold Lili'uokalani Sane," *New York Times* (9 March 1916), 9. After the Queen's death, the Prince's lawsuit remained outstanding. The Queen's representatives negotiated with Kūhiō (capitulated to him rather) in order to settle her estate. Kūhiō had requested 18' additional beach frontage, which was granted, but then continued to refuse to accept the terms of the deed in which, after Aea's death, left Kūhiō use of the Waikīkī land and fish hatchery of Hamohamo for his lifetime (and his wife's). He wanted it in perpetuity. Kūhiō's initial proposal to end the litigation he began included setting aside Washington Place as a perpetual memorial to the Queen and the Kalākaua dynasty (though that required legislation); granting him the Waikīkī and hatchery property; requiring that the litigation expenses be paid by the Trust; and confirming the establishment of the Trust for orphaned children with the suggestion that a majority of the Trustees be of Hawaiian blood. He also wanted the 18' already granted to him to be guaranteed in a separate title. Washington Place being set aside as a memorial was "an essential part of the compromise" and the Prince's lawyers suggested it as the Executive Mansion for the Territory. The Queen's attorneys stipulated that Washington Place would revert to the Queen's heirs-at-law if it was not used properly. Washington Place was "to be occupied and used only for a public or charitable purpose, and not for business or ordinary residential purposes, …" With this provision, her attorneys felt that a sale to the Territory for Washington Place's use as an Executive Mansion could be made. Lili'uokalani Trust, Hawai'i State Archives (M-397, folder 1: Kūhiō Claims). The house's pivotal role in the negotiations suggests Kūhiō played on sympathies to the Queen's memory in order to get the Waikīkī property on the terms he wanted as well as to avoid paying the costs of his lawsuit. And yet, given his efforts on behalf of Native Hawaiians particularly with the homesteading acts, he also probably wanted to recognize the Queen with a permanent memorial however complicated this desire was by the legalities he generated.

Prince[301] proposed Washington Place as a reminder of the Queen and the Kalākaua dynasty – an altruistic gesture that also honored his lineage. Ultimately language in the legal documents delegated the use of Washington Place for public good ("public charitable purpose"), and the settlement appealed to the legislature – with no noticeable trace of irony - to assume the property for use as an Executive Mansion. Perhaps the head of state had always resided there, at least since her release from prison in 1895, in "semi-regal fashion."[302]

The Queen's suggestions for the posthumous use of Washington Place once she was gone coincided with the 1909 renovations and 1910 photographic documentation of the house. Beneath its Greek Revival veneer and amidst its western parlors, Washington Place had a "special Polynesian character."[303] Lili'uokalani sought to protect and to promote that heritage through a perpetuation of language. Traditional chants and songs enabled her to communicate not only her thoughts and emotions privately through compositions (later published) but also with other Native Hawaiians sympathetic to her despite a virtual prison sentence in Washington Place in 1893 and 1894 and a real confinement in the 'Iolani Palace in 1895. Once the Hawaiian language was forbidden in the schools, despite the American missionaries' labors to commit it to paper and to teach that same language decades earlier, the Native Hawaiian tongue was in danger of disappearing. Lili'uokalani was cognizant of this.

The suppression of the Hawaiian language in the schools in the mid-1890s and annexation in 1898 likely contributed to the Queen's requests for the return of items that she either loaned out, or that were impounded by the Americans, that had particular cultural and emotional value. Examples included the calabashes belonging to her father and books of mele or songs.[304] She also wanted "relics" belonging to John Dominis back; these had been seized in the days leading up to her arrest in 1895.[305] As she gathered up

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[301] The attorneys for the Prince in 1918 – that negotiated the settlement – were Castle & Withington, Thompson & [John W] Cathcart, and Lightfoot & Lightfoot. The Queen's estate was represented by Smith, Warren & Whitney.

[302] In her obituary, the *Washington Post* described her as having remarkable intellect, as being a successful author and musical composer, and as living in a "semi-regal fashion" at Washington Place. The Queen said of Washington Place in her book that the house was ransacked after her arrest, once by A.F. Judd looking for papers and evidence against her, and then again by a Portuguese military company led by a man named Captain Good. They tore it apart from "garrett to cellar" and damaged the foundations, enough undermine the structure. She continued, writing that the house was then seized, the government took possession, and no one allowed to enter. Lili'uokalani, 271-72.

[303] See earlier quotation from D'Anglade, chap. 4, referenced in the text above.

[304] Lili'uokalani to J.O. Carter, 10 November 1899, Hui Hānai Collection. By 1916, it was evident that society still centered on the Queen, and so by extension, on Washington Place. Lili'uokalani filled the house with "relics of the monarchy" and the Native Hawaiians continued to pay her "sincere homage." "Lili'uokalani Deposed, Is Still Queen to Many," *Christian Science Monitor* (28 September 1916), 8.

[305] Lili'uokalani to Carter, 10 November 1899.

cultural symbols of past and present, the Queen resumed her role as an exemplar of how to maintain a Hawaiian essence, and soul, under an "American disguise."[306] That she was successful in doing so is illustrated by the restoration of her bedroom in 2002, the first in the home as a historic house museum to be re-interpreted. The house, Washington Place, represents her struggle for Hawai'i and for Hawaiian culture despite an American stranglehold, a presence acknowledged, and alternately accommodated and avoided, as represented by her interactions with Mary Dominis, John Dominis, and those that came after them to Washington Place. The Captain's prescience in choosing a location for his dwelling ultimately meant neither Washington Place nor Lili'uokalani could be erased from the epicenter of government. They remained at the heart of the civic and cultural landscape of Hawai'i.[307]

PART II. ARCHITECTURAL INFORMATION

A. General statement

1. Architectural character: Washington Place can be categorized as part of a pan-tropical expression of classical revival, nineteenth-century architecture. It is, for example, similar to those houses seen in Singapore wherein the classical idiom met with social and climatic needs to produce both bungalows of an Anglo-Indian descent and the urban, terraced townhouses and suburban Palladian-like villas. By the 1840s, architect George D. Coleman introduced Anglo-Palladianism to the developing city, taking the thatch roofed, rectangular-shaped native hut that was screened behind an overhanging verandah and raised off the ground and transforming it into what would be the ubiquitous two-story house with a pitched, overhanging roof and deep upper floor verandah. Coleman emulated the Georgian Palladian structures of England, recorded in pictures and pattern books, that were interpreted and molded to fit tropical conditions first in India and then elsewhere in the east where the British settled. Throughout the nineteenth century Singapore houses were planned according to the rules of symmetry, with organized facades and room arrangement. Often the public rooms were placed across the front of the

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[306] See quotation from D'Anglade, chap. 4., referenced in the text above.

[307] That Washington Place signified Hawai'i's past – and was recognized as a place to tell part of that story – is shown in the late twentieth-century restorations of the house and grounds that focused less on modern convenience and more on the importance of Lili'uokalani's life there. See, for example, "Hawai'i's Governor's Mansion, Rich with State's Colorful Past," *Los Angeles Times* (14 December 1986); "A Mansion Symbolizes Hawai'i," *New York Times* (5 December 1971), 88. Even by mid-century, the American mainland presses adopted a kinder attitude toward the Queen, as shown in "Tragedy of Hawai'i's Last Queen Recalled," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (14 June 1959), F62; "Last of Hawai'i's Monarchs," *Christian Science Monitor* (28 November 1961), 12. (not all, however, as evidenced by "Islands Reflect Influence of U.S.: Missionaries Helped Bring Democracy to People, Foreign Threat Evaded," *New York Times* (13 March 1959), 12).

building, leaving more private and family space in the rear and out of view of the front verandah.[308]

The adaptation of a pattern-book aesthetic to tropical conditions, like that done by Coleman in Singapore, is an architectural creolization or hybridization also seen in the Caribbean and along the Gulf Coast of the United States.[309] Formal borrowings, such as the West African porch or Mediterranean galleries that became the upper-level verandah, or piazza in West Indies houses, the continued use of molded surrounds and cornices, and ultimately substitutions of louvered doors and shutters called jalousies for sash and louvered room partitions for interior walls made for a distinctive, yet remarkably consistent house type. Generally West Indies Creole houses were free-standing blocks standing two stories in height, with the living space located on the second floor and organized into a central room with smaller bedrooms opening off of it (known as the three room, Italian-Spanish plan) and with gallery spaces to the front and rear. Access was by way of an exterior stair. Ventilation was a primary design principal, making for open ceilings and open floor plans, jalousies, and raised foundations.[310]

On the United States mainland, Louisiana has the largest assortment of housing associated with the Creole people.[311] There are additional examples of this kind of housing stock found along the Gulf Coast in Mississippi and Alabama, along the Mississippi River, and northward into what was New France. In Louisiana proper, Creole architecture was primarily a south-central phenomenon and appeared only in the cities of New Orleans and Natchitoches with any frequency.[312] The

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[308] Norman Edwards, *The Singapore House and Residential Life, 1819-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); *Architecture in Australia, A History* (1968; reprint, Penguin, 1972); Lee Kip Lin, *The Singapore House 1819-1942*, Times Edition (Singapore: Preservation of Monuments Board, 1988); Robert Irving, comp., *The History and Design of the Australia House* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985); Glenn Jowitt and Peter Shaw, *Pacific Island Style* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991). Lin wrote that the extended eaves, verandahs with timber balustrades, and steep roofs hipped on all sides that lent the colonial houses an "unmistakable" tropical look. Lin, 50. He also noted that the early merchant houses tended to have pillars and colonnades, and that garden shrubbery hid the ground level from view. Illustrations of houses with features similar to Washington Place are found on pp. 28-29. Of Coleman's houses, he commented that three have been reconstructed based on surviving plans.

[309] See Jon L. Wilson and Virginia B. Price, "Cane River National Heritage Area, Creole Houses," Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress (HABS No. LA-1361).

[310] Chapman, 129-72.

[311] In Louisiana, Creoles were generally free people of color, a point of distinction from those that were enslaved even if they shared racial and ethnic ties. Creoles traced their ancestry to those in the Caribbean as well as to Native Americans, Africans, and Europeans (mostly Spanish and French).

[312] Jay Edwards, "Louisiana's French Creole Architecture," Multiple Property Documentation Form, Spring 1990, rev. 1991, National Register of Historic Places.

hallmarks of Creole domestic architecture as it appears on the American mainland are the high, steeply-pitched roof extending over one or more outdoor porches (galleries), walls made from a mud-like material called bousillage, a raised primary floor resting on piers, posts, or columns, and a plan without internal corridors. Unlike most colonial and antebellum Anglo-American architectural examples, the façades of Creole design rarely displayed symmetrically placed fenestration and generally lacked high-style, classically-derived ornament.

The precedent for the raised or elevated foundation has been attributed to coastal houses of Guinea, West Africa. In most cases, the dwellings were raised off of the ground anywhere from one foot to a full story with either cypress posts or with brick masonry piers. The full-story raise was a common characteristic of well-to-do, eighteenth-century Creole design.

The interior plan of the Creole house was a European-derived layout with large central rooms surrounded by non-European peripheral ranges (galleries along the facade or encircling the house, cabinet rooms, and loggias). The Norman plan was based on an asymmetrical room arrangement with two main rooms serving as the core. The larger room, almost square, was known as the salle. Its Anglo-American equivalent was the hall. The other room functioned as the bedchamber. The other common floor plan was the Italo-Spanish plan, which featured three rooms. It is generally understood today that the French Norman and Spanish floor plans were imported by way of the West Indies. [313]

A recent study examining the building habits and patterns of the free people of color in two New Orleans neighborhoods suggests a variance in urban and rural expressions of Creole architectural design. The author suggests the rural examples tended to follow a three-room Spanish plan while those in New Orleans exhibited strong ties to the asymmetrical two-room, French Norman plan.[314] In Natchitoches Parish, however, HABS found the two-room Norman plan to be more prevalent in extant examples.

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[313] Edwards, "What Louisiana's Architecture Owes to Hispaniola," 39-40; Jay Edwards, "The Origins of Creole Architecture," *Winterthur Portfolio* 29, no.2 (1994): 155-89.

[314] Tara Dudley, "The Influence of *gens de couleur libre* on the Architecture of Antebellum Louisiana," Society of Architectural Historians, Conference Presentation, 27 April 2006, Savannah, Georgia. Dudley's study is based on an urban neighborhood in New Orleans that bordered the Vieux Carre, Faubourg Treme and the Creole Faubourgs, or areas associated with gens de couleur. She identified forty-two extant properties connected to *gens de couleur* in the first; these were built between 1816 and the 1860s. In the Creole Faubourgs, thirty-nine antebellum-era properties linked to gens de couleur were identified. In her conference paper, Dudley observed, specifically, how the Norman plan was adapted to the urban, French Creole cottage. Tara Dudley to Virginia B. Price, electronic communication, 13 February 2007.

Between 1790 and 1860, the Creole house form also was adapted by other groups, including the Acadians.[315] This group preferred using a gable roof rather than a hip roof. They also utilized loft spaces for sleeping. They kept the undercut roof for gallery-like spaces in front of their houses and continued to use bousillage and wood as building materials. Also in this era, Anglo-Americans' influence began to be felt. This was manifested through floor plans, with the use of a central hall, and with symmetrical fenestration in the buildings' facades. Smaller examples of this evolving Anglo-Creole house type are seen in Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana, in the Sompayrac House and at Atahoe, whereas the more grandly scaled, two-story Greek Revival expressions with periptoral full-height (ground-to-roof) columns and double galleries are found along River Road in the southern part of the state. This latter category includes Oak Alley, Houmas, and Evergreen; those retaining more of a Creole plan are Destrehan (despite its ca. 1840 makeover), Parlange, Homeplace, Whitney, and Laura.

In both the Caribbean and the coastal mainland region of the Gulf, service functions and the servants (or enslaved persons of African descent) who performed them were housed primarily in separate, subsidiary structures to the main house. The housing complexes may have retained an African courtyard ambiance in the inward-looking yards of the West Indies, but from Singapore to the Caribbean to the Mississippi River, each household depended on a number of servants or slaves and that hierarchy was expressed spatially. Inside each dwelling, the spaces were public or private or sometimes both. The owner-occupants also restricted or granted visitors and servants access to various rooms. The complex social interactions were choreographed, guided by the architecture. The verandah (piazza, gallerie) moreover was a transitional space, providing additional outdoor living room and a buffer between the outside world and the interior. The Creole house form, therefore, met both the functional needs and the social or symbolic requirements of their increasingly English-speaking occupants.

For the English-speaking immigrants in the New World, the construction of urban town houses and more, rural retreats followed established, European practices of the affluent. The classical, roman villa as a house type was revived by Andrea Palladio in the 1500s and emulated thereafter in England, by those who could afford it, well into the eighteenth century. Palladio's *Quattro Libri dell'architecttura* enabled even those without the means to travel to Italy to build in a classically-inspired idiom and thus remain in step with the cutting edge of fashionable living.

Transplanted to the American colonies, this taste for classicism was fed by the architectural pattern books designed and produced for the amateur, gentleman

[315] The Acadians were something of a French-Canadian diaspora and who ultimately settled in southern Louisiana wherein they became known as Cajuns.

architect and for the professional builder.[316] In 1762, James Stuart and Nicholas Revett published the *Antiquities of Athens*; this volume along with Vitruvius's treatise on the orders of architecture and Palladio's four books proved influential among American builders along with Salmon's *Palladio Londonensis* (1734), William Paine's *Builder's Companion* (1758), and William Chambers's *Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture*. It was not until the 1790s that an American pattern book emerged. The first was Asher Benjamin's *Country Builder's Assistant* and shortly thereafter, Minard Lafever followed suit with the *Modern Builder's Guide* and Owen Biddle with the *Young Carpenter's Assistant*. House-builders selected motifs or particular design elements from these guides, rarely adopting a full reproduction. In the British American colonies, for example, only two houses dating to the eighteenth century are true pattern-book models. Drayton Hall outside of Charleston, South Carolina, followed Palladio (book two, plate 56) and Mount Airy in Virginia corresponded to James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture*, plate 58.[317]

In the nineteenth-century publications, the full two-story, Georgian block of the eighteenth century was most commonly depicted. This form provided a familiar frame on which to hang stylistic details; the massing of the Georgian block as well as its rectilinear or geometric form lent itself to the Greek Revival.[318] Under this aesthetic, buildings tended to have low-pitched roofs, wide bands of trim beneath the cornice, trabeated (post-lintel) windows and doors, rectangular transoms (over neoclassical fanlights), and columns and pilasters in the Greek orders. The Greek Revival aesthetic remained popular until the outbreak of the Civil War and is often cited as the first national style of American architecture.

The architecture of Washington Place is a synthesis of the classically inspired and the Creole, though it is Creole not in the initial French or Spanish expression that was exported from the Caribbean to the American mainland. In Washington Place the Creole architectural features are an amalgamation, products of the mingling of the Creole with Anglo-American building forms and plans that occurred in the lower Mississippi River Valley in the early decades of the nineteenth century and gave rise to plantation houses like Oak Alley. This fusion of building traditions, and overlay of Anglo-American preferences for floor plans and for two-story edifices with columns, took place as communities of businessmen, traders, sailors,

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[316] "Asher Benjamin and American Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 38, no. 3 (1979): 244-70; Kenneth Hafertepe and James F. O'Gorman, eds., *American Architects and their Books to 1848* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 2001).

[317] Thomas Tileston Waterman, *Mansions of Virginia, 1706-1776* (NY: Bonanza Books, 1945). Waterman's presentation of the Virginia house forms included a discussion of pattern-book sources, English models, and colonial derivatives throughout the Georgian period.

[318] Dell Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800-1860," *Winterthur Portfolio* (1984): 131-33.

and missionaries were settled in new territories. The Anglo-American residents and the architecture they constructed in Honolulu are an example of this.

Thus, the architecture of Washington Place can be more accurately described as creolized, or as a mix of a classical vocabulary and of pattern-book precedent and practice with local materials, climatic and community preferences of living indoors and outdoors, and workmanship, including the quality of work executed and who was employed to do it. Like other Anglo-influenced structures erected in the tropics, Washington Place exhibits some classical, in particular given its construction date, Greek Revival elements in its symmetry, floor plan, columnar supports. Yet the spacing between the columns is irregular, varying up to 2'; the inter-columniation on the 'Ewa lānai corresponds to the fenestration beyond but the makai front lacks that relationship. The hiccup in the rhythm generally accorded by the use of columns in a façade speaks to a reliance on pattern books for design and during construction. The deviation in spacing adds to the vernacular character of the structure.[319]

The features that tie the building into the larger, Creole architectural oeuvre are the hipped roof, the lānais, the double doors, the use of multiple points of entry, an exterior stair to the second floor, the use of indoor and outdoor living space, and the use of indigenous materials. Evidence of climatic considerations in the construction of Washington Place is found in central hall on the first floor, the cross hall on the first and second floors, the axially aligned fenestration, the tall ceilings, the lānai, and the attic space. All of these components facilitated air-circulation and combated the heat by giving it room to rise. Other local examples include the dwellings of Dr. Robert Wood, Dr. Judd, Abner Pākī, and Queen Emma.[320]

That Washington Place was but one of the very best examples of housing erected in this classical-Creole vein is demonstrated through the 1853 lithographs by Paul Emmert as well as commentary from travelers like Olmsted around 1840 who observed, "the houses of foreign residents are built in cottage style, with green

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[319] Columns along the gallery at Cherokee, a quintessential example of Creole architecture in Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana, also lack any sort of reference to the façade fenestration or even to the structural piers below.

[320] *Historic Homes of Hawai'i*; Gilman, 128-30; Greer, "Honolulu in 1847," 62; "Honolulu in 1853," *Hawaiian Annual* (1914-19): 80-104. Don Francisco de Paula Marin was said to have had one of the first two-story houses made of coral stones; his was erected in 1810 on the northeast side of town and was depicted in the 1818 sketch of Honolulu, a picture that included numerous thatched huts (some counted as many as 175). Lee, *Don Francisco de Paula Marin*, chap. 3. Lee is a descendant of Marin's. Gary L. Fitzpatrick discussed a 1816 map of Honolulu harbor by Kotzebule as well as Golovnin's map of the city in 1818. He noted Duperreiji's depiction of Honolulu was the last to portray it as village with the fort as the only significant western intrusion. Marin's stone house was also shown and together with the fort is evidence of a western presence. See Fitzpatrick, *The Early Mapping of Hawai'i* (London and NY: Kegan Paul International, 1987), 49-60.

verandahs or piazzas around them, while the adjacent grounds are tastefully laid out and planted trees and shrubbery. Belonging to each, are several small outhouses in which the various operations of domestic economy are conducted." Olmsted, however, noted an important difference in Washington Place and the majority of houses in Honolulu; in the excerpt quoted above, he was discussing houses made of adobe and plastered with lime. The adobe was protected from the rain by a projecting roof. He concluded, saying that "there are also several large and handsome dwelling houses and stores, built of coral stone cut from the reefs."[321]

The combination of native and imported materials and labor for house construction in Hawai'i was no different than that experienced in the Caribbean, although the nineteenth-century prefab house required on-site tailoring well beyond the mere assembly the name "prefab" implies. One, documented example of this process is the house Isaac Hart completed for the royal Governor of O'ahu, Kekūanāo'a, in 1844. This was the structure that Kamehameha III later claimed as his own; the building became known as the "old palace" as it was superceded by the present 'Iolani Palace in the 1882.[322] In a letter addressed to the governor, Hart outlined his terms for completing the house. Hart anticipated the work would take three months and his fee reached $800, excluding extra time assisting the native crew, procuring materials, completing the verandah, and installing additional windows (than originally specified) in the roof. The tinners work, moreover, would be paid by the governor. Hart proposed "finish[ing] your house on terms as follows … the floors are to be laid and the furing [sic] done by the Natives (frame work for lathing). I will finish the house outside and in, below and above put the pillars and rails around the lookout house, …The finish to be in good modern stile without cornice or surbase, the materials to be of American pine. All materials to be bought on the spot … The windows below to be hung with weights and pullies." In a post script, Hart noted that the folding doors were to be in one wing only.[323]

2. Conditions of fabric: The house and grounds appear well maintained and are closely monitored for the safety of the governor. Mitigating factors are due to its location in the tropics, namely there is sun damage to the lānais and water or moisture problems weakening the building fabric. The window openings of the basement, or cellar as it was known historically, were sealed off in the twentieth century; the lack of ventilation exacerbates the moisture problems as the

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[321] Olmsted, 199-200.

[322] Albert P. Taylor, *The Rulers of Hawai'i…* (1927; reprint, Honolulu: Office of Library Services, 1973); *Iolani Palace Restoration* (Honolulu: Friends of 'Iolani Palace, 1970). The cornerstone of the 'Iolani Palace was laid in 1879; the building was completed in 1882.

[323] Isaac Hart to Governor Kekūanāo'a, 15 May 1844, Hawai'i State Archives.

foundations and structure above cannot dry out. Moisture also poses a problem for the first floor piers wherein a metal liner extending some 3' up is rusting out beneath the concrete coating. The same concrete coating has been applied to the bottom third of the first-floor exterior walls. In addition, the roof of the open lānai, covered with a single-ply membrane made of a modified bitumen material, is pulling up and away at the edges. Washington Place also accommodates a variety of functions, such as a house museum, office space for the administrative and curatorial staff, public and private receptions, service functions for the governor's household, and storage, whose requirements occasionally conflict. For example, the desire for public access to the house is countered by the governor's needs for privacy and security on an adjacent parcel to the historic property. The long-term preservation solution for the house will need to resolve these issues.

B. Description of Exterior

1. Overall dimensions: The nineteenth-century main block of the house stands two stories over a basement and is capped by a hipped roof. Symmetrically arranged, the fenestration is three bays by five bays, however, all of the elevations have been altered to some extent. The three-bay, front façade has a central doorway wherein the koa wood door is topped by an ornamental fanlight and flanked by sidelights. This koa door with reeded, inset panels dates to the 1950s renovation, but the fanlight and sidelights are original. The slight rectangular shape of the initial footprint measures approximately 45' by 61'.[324] On the Waikīkī side, a wing consisting of a glassed lānai (1921) and the covered open lānai (1953) was added.[325] A second wing extends on the mauka side. In this ell, various renovations have provided a State Dining Room, a working kitchen, a pantry, and a family dining room (or breakfast room) at the bottom of the secondary stairs.

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[324] The measurements are taken from the original HABS documentation, "Washington Place," Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress (HABS No. HI-6).

[325] A lānai is a verandah or porch; in Creole architecture, this feature is called a *galerie* (French) or *galeria* (Spanish Colonial; also *corredores*). It refers to an open-sided passage attached to the main rooms of a building. Galerias were introduced to Santo Domingo by Spanish settlers; the space served as an open air room and the roof was generally supported by Tuscan columns. In France, the *galerie* was first the front porch of a church or if referring to an interior feature, meant a long room providing passage. In French Canada it became an elevated feature. By the eighteenth century, in the French West Indies and Louisiana, the galerie was an open porch or verandah running the full width of the façade. It was not the cantilevered or bracketed balconies of Normandy or flying balcony of Canada and of Spanish colonies. Encircling galleries, while seen in sixteenth-century Italy, are more likely derived from West African traditions, and Southeast Asian and Indian bungalows when found in the tropics, as in Hawai'i. Portuguese, Dutch, and English traders encountered these forms with regularity, and the earliest example known is a sugar plantation house in Brazil (1637-44). Jay Dearborn Edwards and Nicolas Kariouk Pecquet du Bellay de Verton, *Creole Lexicon: Architecture, Landscape, People* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2004), 105-06. The lānais extend the living space another 1410 square feet (glassed lānai) and 2679 square feet (open lānai). See "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan," Sec. 3-1.

Above these spaces bedrooms and bathrooms were created for the governors' families who lived in Washington Place between 1929 and 2002.[326]

2. Foundations: The original core of the house is distinguished by coral stone foundation blocks and limestone mortar, and by wood framing and posts. Later reinforcements, piers made of concrete block, were constructed in the basement during the twentieth century but these piers do not support the joists above. The glassed lānai rests on cast concrete perimeter footings; these footings are inline with the cast concrete, square pillars that are both ornamental, architectural features and a structural skeleton for the space.[327] The open lānai is wood-frame, with wood columnar supports.

3. Walls: Now painted a bright white, the exterior foundation and first floor walls of the original main block are made of coral stone plastered with a cement coating and, once hardened, scored to resemble masonry blocks.[328] The second floor has horizontal (shiplap) wood siding on wood-frame walls.[329] The first-floor square posts, or piers rather, also are constructed of coral stones, while the Tuscan columns above are made of wood. The mauka wing has a mixture of vertical and horizontal siding as well as latticework to soften utilitarian spaces and screen the kitchen entrance. Present shiplap siding dates to 1920s renovation.[330] The walls of

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[326] Governor McCarthy lived in the house starting in 1918 under terms of a lease, but no changes were made to the structure and most of the furnishings remained in-situ.

[327] Columns are defined as tall, generally round vertical supports that carry the weight of an entablature or other structural elements, whereas piers are shorter pieces of masonry, square or rectangular in section, used to support the building's frame (posts are the timber counterpoint – vertical, substantial, and supportive of horizontal framing members and trusses). Pillar is a broader term than either column or pier; pillar refers to any sort of vertical support made to withstand the weight of a superstructure. They are round, square or rectangular in plan. *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape*, edited by Carl R. Lounsbury, with Vanessa E. Patrick (Oxford University Press, 1994; reprint, Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia), 88, 270-73, 287. For a discussion of the column architecturally and symbolically, see, for example, Joseph Rykwert, *The Dancing Column: On Order in Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996); Virginia B. Price, "Arlington National Cemetery, Sheridan Gate," Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress (HABS No. VA-1348-B), 14-19.

[328] The cement-mixture plaster coating was applied to the lower third of the walls and pillars. A lime-based plaster was used above. The concrete application is a partial repair; the pillars have a metal lath under the concrete that is rusting out. The metal also makes the pillars sound hollow whereas the plastered-only sections above still sound firm.

[329] Initial HABS documentation (1967) indicates the wood framing of the second floor was 6" thick and faced with 5 ½" siding; if, as the conservation assessment states, the present ship-lap siding dates to the 1920s, then those dimensions hold true for today. Drawings held at Washington Place note painting repairs, but no overhaul or total replacement of the facing. Work by the HABS architects in 2007 will supply current measurements.

[330] Shiplap siding is a term denoting wood sheathing whose edges are rabbeted to make an overlapping joint.

the glassed lānai consist of concrete pillars and glazed, triple-hung sash. There are no walls per se in the open lānai.

The 1921-22 renovation records indicate that virtually all of the original structural wood was damaged by "white ants" [termites] and was replaced.[331] This would suggest that the Tuscan columns date to that period along with the first and second floors, roofing, and lānai railings. Presently, most of the columns are composites built up from wood slats; it has been suggested that the remaining solid-wood columns are original due to the construction records calling for turned members and because of an investigation that revealed some original wood members beneath the upstairs flooring.[332] Paired brackets and a decorative cornice with dentil molding provide visual interest and order the façade as was done in classical traditions.[333] The walls of the glassed lānai consist of cast concrete pillars and triple-hung, wood sash windows.

4. Structural system, framing: Washington Place is built of load-bearing coral stone and masonry piers and wood framing. The first-floor joists are visible in the basement, and the second-floor ceiling joists are visible in the attic.[334] The roof rafters and heavy timber wood trusses show signs of circular saw marks and the majority of this timber framing dates to no earlier than the 1921-22 renovation of the house. Douglas fir was used. The glassed lānai floor joists (2x8, 16" on center) also are cross-braced and supported by concrete piers. The open lānai has columnar supports made from Douglas fir and bolted onto concrete plinths. The treated, wood trusses also are made from Douglas fir.[335]

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[331] *Report of the Superintendent of Public Works*, 21-22.

[332] "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan," Sec. 3-25-26.

[333] These details date to the 1920s renovations and reflect the Colonial Revival impulse to add classical details where, likely, none existed previously. It has been suggested that the ornamentation of the entablature would have been more in line with that prescribed by Asher Benjamin in the 1827 edition of the *American Builder's Companion*, plate XII, for the Tuscan order. This is borne out in the historic photographs, wherein for example paired brackets are absent from the piers. "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan," Sec. 3-9.

[334] For the Architectural Conservation Plan, a small area was opened to reveal the floor and framing; the report notes that the joists are notched over a sill plate that in turns rests on the coral. The sill plate, however, does not appear to have been replaced in the 1920s renovation. See Sec. 4-6.

[335] Williams Photography, "Termite Damage & Repair," 1954, PP12, folder 8, Hawai'i State Archives (copies in Historic Photograph Collection, vol. 2, Washington Place); "Alteration and additions, Washington Place, showing new covered terrace and exit path to front drive," November 1953. Copy on file at Washington Place.

5. Porches, stoops, balconies, porticoes, bulkheads: Perhaps the most defining element of Washington Place is the two-story lānai.[336] The lānai wrapped around all four sides of the original house.[337] It is supported at the outer edge by utilitarian, square piers on the first floor and columns in the Tuscan order on the second. On the second-floor, the lānai has a balustrade consisting of square, elongated balusters and a handrail running between the columns. The Waikīkī and mauka sides were enclosed in later renovations, as was a section on the mauka end of the ʻEwa elevation for a screened sleeping lānai.[338] The end bay of the ʻEwa lānai, on the first floor, was enclosed for a security office, also cordoned off from the lānai. Glazed double or French doors open out onto the lānais as do the center doors in the first-floor makai and ʻEwa elevations. A porte-cochere, constructed in 1921, is accessed by way of three concrete-coated, rough cut granite steps. The fourth step is essentially at grade due to repeated driveway paving. Another set of concrete steps rise on the Waikīkī end of the front lānai, adjacent to the glassed lānai. On the ʻEwa side, a two-step concrete stair provides access to the lānai. The lānai floors are made of concrete on the first floor, wood on the second.[339] The ceilings consist of tongue and groove wood slats and, like the flooring, date to no earlier than the 1921-22 renovations. A baseboard or splashguard was added to the walls of the house on first-floor lānai in the 1920s.

The cast-in-place concrete porte-cochere is a twentieth-century addition to the house as are the glassed and open lānais of the Waikīkī wing. Transitional spaces, these cater to the preference for outdoor living spaces and offer protection from the elements, while enabling natural, air-circulation and providing light. The four square, concrete supports of the porte-cochere mimic the coral stone piers of the lānai. To complement the ornament seen on the main block of the house, the same, paired brackets and dentil moldings have been applied to the porte-cochere. A herringbone-patterned, brick masonry walkway extends from the front gate to the porte-cochere, where it meets the asphalt-coated driveway.[340] The ceiling of

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[336] The Dominis receipts refer to the lānais as verandahs, reflecting the New England vocabulary of the Captain and of Hart.

[337] In this form, the verandahs of Washington Place could be described as *peristyle*. Colonnades surrounding three or four sides of the exterior of a building or a courtyard are *peristyle*; colonnades supporting a roof and running along a building façade are called porticoes.

[338] This screened sleeping lānai is shown in the base-line 1950s renovation drawings and in the 1960s-era photographs by HABS photographer Jack E. Boucher. It most likely was installed during the 1940s. See Washington Place, Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress (HABS No. HI-6-7). The upstairs windows have awnings at this time as well.

[339] The first-floor lānai floor was tiled originally.

[340] Although the initial mortar analysis proved inconclusive, it is likely these are re-used bricks salvaged from an earlier outbuilding. Personal Communication, Kenneth Hays to Virginia B. Price, 6 July 2007.

the porte-cochere consists of tongue and groove wood and is illuminated by a globe light.

Smaller stoops include the concrete steps and landing at the terminus of a brick walkway running along the mauka side of the glassed lānai; this provides access to the door at the foot of the secondary stair. Other steps lead up to the side door that opens into the pantry and to the covered entrance to the kitchen. The door to the latter is screened by lattice and secured. The basement entrance, located near the mauka-ʻEwa (northwest) corner, is akin to a concrete bunker with eight steps leading down to a recessed doorway.[341] There is a drain in the walkway leading from the steps to the entrance. Ventilation openings to the basement were sealed in the twentieth-century. This metal mesh doorway is the only access to the basement.[342]

Julius Blum and Co. supplied the ornamental metal casting for the curved balconies overlooking the open lānai. The balcony floors are cast imitation coral stone, the railings of iron.[343] The floor of the open lānai itself is painted concrete while the wood ceiling is painted white and evokes a classical, coffered ceiling.

6. Chimneys: There are no chimneys.

7. Openings:

a. Doorways and doors: The front door (D101) sits within the original sidelights and beneath the original transom light with the leaded glass and spandrels forming a graceful, curving ornamental pattern much like the delicate tracery seen in ecclesiastical buildings and popularized, for more secular settings, in Thomas Chippendale's pattern books.[344] The door itself is fashioned from koa wood and has six, square reeded panels above the lock rail and two rectangular panels below.[345] The architrave or casing is simple, reminiscent of post and lintel construction, capped by a three-tiered cyma recta molding that serves as a cornice.

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[341] These steps were put in during the 1921-22 renovations.

[342] There appears to be screened openings on the Waikīkī elevation, along part of the kitchen wing at the ground level, suggesting there was some provision for ventilation beneath the house in the first part of the twentieth century. "Waikīkī and Makai Elevations," 26 September 1946, approved by B.F. Paul, drawing no. 2 of 5. Copy on file at Washington Place.

[343] "Alterations and additions," Ives and Hogan Architects, 1953, drawing no. 9 of 12. Copy on file at Washington Place. Chose #517, and requested four of them.

[344] Enoch Snelling had the door made to specifications he received from Captain Dominis; Snelling could not quite interpret the Captain's drawing and so confessed he did the best he could. The accounts indicate the original door was made of pine.

[345] This door dates to the 1950s and replaces a glazed door. Historic photographs show the surround to have been more robust, with console brackets, originally.

Flanking the center makai entrance are double doors (D102, 113). Sometimes called French doors, each leaf of the double doors is glazed with eight lights above the lock rail and ornamented by one, recessed rectangular panel below.[346] The rabbeted casing repeats that seen surrounding the front door. There are four more of these double doors (D103-106) on the ʻEwa elevation, flanking the doorway that used to open into the cross hall. Now a louvered door (D117), this modern replacement sits beneath a multi-light transom and provides access to a restroom. The sidelights are no longer glazed, instead exhibiting the same wood louvers as the door. The double doors on this side of the house have screened single doors that swing open onto the lānai. French or double doors (D204, 205) also are found on the second-floor of the ʻEwa elevation, in corresponding locations to the door openings on the first floor. There are double doors (D109-112, 203, 207) on the Waikīkī side as well, although those no longer open onto the lānai per se now that it has been enveloped in the glassed lānai on the first floor and into the upstairs hall on the second.[347] The opening for what was a double door on the makai end of the Waikīkī, second-floor elevation has been converted into a window glazed with three lights.[348] The door (D209) leading from the upstairs, Waikīkī hall (former lānai) out onto the makai lānai is a wood door, glazed with six lights over a recessed panel. It also has a screen door.

At the Waikīkī end of the makai lānai is another opening (D116) leading into the glassed lānai.[349] The door is predominantly glazed. It has twelve lights above the lock rail, is capped by a glazed transom, and is flanked by sidelights with four lights apiece.[350] This door has a recessed panel below the lock rail as the double

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[346] The Conservation report states that these doors, in place no later than the 1880s when they are visible in historic photographs, are either original or replaced window sash at an early date. "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan," Sec. 3-20.

[347] Existing double doors open onto the Waikīkī hall (former lānai) from the makai- Waikīkī room and the mauka- Waikīkī room on the second floor. The mauka- Waikīkī room also has double doors in-situ on the mauka side; these are obscured by office equipment.

[348] The precise date of, and motivations for, this change are unknown. The alteration was done sometime between 1953 and 1987. Most likely the change was made for privacy or to create wall-space for furniture. Katie Slocumb to Virginia B. Price, electronic communication, 13 December 2007.

[349] It is likely this door was installed and the lānai enclosed when the glassed lānai was added in the 1920s, but the drawings from the 1921-22 period suggest the lānai was still open.

[350] The recessed panel below the four-lights of the sidelight glazing has been covered with a woven mat. This recessed panel corresponds to that of the door, in keeping with the architectural rhythm established for the door and its surround.

doors do. A virtually identical door (D115) links the cross hall to the glassed lānai. This was once the main door to the lānai on the Waikīkī side.[351]

Secondary portals include the basement door, the kitchen door (D125), a smattering of side doors, and the second-floor doors. The basement and kitchen doors are metal, fireproof doors. The basement door is made of metal mesh. The kitchen door is glazed with one utilitarian light. The side doors consist of a glazed (six lights) and wood paneled door (D123) placed at the base of the secondary stair; a wood door (D124) into the pantry that is punctuated by screened openings that are in turn protected by a louvered (jalousie) window; a wood paneled door (D127) that provides access to the guard house on the ʻEwa lānai; a glazed and paneled wood door (D128) that provides access to the guard house on its mauka side; a louvered door (D117) opening into the restroom from the ʻEwa lānai and a corresponding, louvered door (D126) from the anteroom to the toilet.

The second-floor fire door (D212) is glazed with six lights and has one, small raised panel below the lock rail. It is topped by a four-light transom. It is echoed by the doorway (D213) leading from the upstairs hall into the secondary stair, and in so doing, captures the light from outside to help illuminate the interior space. The exterior door (D211) opening from the office on its mauka side is a double door glazed with four lights above the lock rail. Each leaf has a raised panel below the lock rail. The double door rests between sidelights (four panes) and beneath a multi-light transom. Another door (D210) connects the office to the side hall; it is a sliding door resting beneath a multi-transom. The doors themselves are glazed with eight lights as are the adjacent, fixed panels. At the ʻEwa end of the back hall, a door (D214) leads out onto a small porch that connects to the screened sleeping lānai. The door from the hall is made of wood and glazed with one large opening presently filled with a translucent glass set into metal sash crafted by the Bell Air Door Company of Alhambra, California. Above it, the opening is merely screened. The door (D215) leading into the screened sleeping lānai is glazed with five, horizontal translucent lights.

b. Windows and shutters: Historically shutters have come and gone from the facades, but generally they were louvered shutters, painted dark in color.[352] Ornamental, fixed shutters are installed on the second-floor makai lānai, accentuating the double doors.[353] These are painted white. There are metal

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[351] Makai-Waikīkī oblique view, Photograph ca. 1895, Peabody Essex Museum and Hawaiʻi State Archives (PP 12, folder 5); "Liliʻuokalani seated…," Photograph 1893, PP 12, folder 5, Hawaiʻi State Archives. Copies on file at Washington Place.

[352] The shutters are visible in various historic photographs, such as Washington Place, Photograph ca. 1880s, Bishop Museum. Copies on file at Washington Place.

[353] There are also fixed shutters flanking one door opening on the ʻEwa side.

awnings hung above the second floor, sash windows of the additions. These awnings are also white in color.

There is a multi-pane window, glazed in multiples of six (6-12-6 over 18-36-18) illuminating the breakfast room on the Waikīkī side of the house. The stair hall rising from this space is illuminated in part by a large, multi-pane fixed window glazed with sixteen lights. Immediately opposite this window is an identical multi-pane opening, lighting the interior hall.[354] Another window (originally an exterior window) into the stair hall at the second floor landing hides behind an ornamental wood screen. A pair of sash windows, glazed with six-over-six lights, is immediately to the makai side of the firedoor and multi-pane window, before the office.

For the most part, the additions that shape the first-floor, mauka side of the house are characterized by a mixture of jalousie screens, with a series of hopper like windows that crank open, and glazed sash windows. The glazing for the ladies room windows is translucent, but it too has lights arranged as six-over-six. The State Dining Room is lit by triple hung sash, each five lights across and two down. The makai window on the ʻEwa elevation has been altered for the air conditioning, leaving only a single sash intact in the center. The guard's office contains one visible sash glazed with six-over-six lights.[355] Above the guard's office, on the makai side of the screened sleeping lānai there is one large window glazed with nine lights over eight.

The second-floor windows of the mauka wing are primarily double-hung sash glazed with six-over-one lights, except the windows of the present-day Curator's office are sliding sash, glazed with one light apiece. On the ʻEwa side of the house, there are two roundels or oxeye windows[356] Exterior windows can be seen on the Waikīkī side – now an interior hallway since the lānai was enclosed – and these are groupings of small, rectangular pocket windows glazed with four-over-two lights. These brought light into the two bathrooms on that side. The sills are constructed of wood and the casing kept simple and unadorned. The office over the glassed lānai features sash glazed with six-over-six lights; on the Waikīkī side, the windows are paired. The central pair is glazed with eight-over-eight lights. The windows are vinyl rather than wood.

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[354] These windows have the same muntin profile and were installed during the 1987 renovation.

[355] On closer inspection, the bottom sash has been raised and a board inserted to accommodate the air conditioning ventilation duct.

[356] It is unclear when these windows were installed, but they were there by 1988. Drawings that include the wardrobe or storeroom depict this wall as solid, that is, without fenestration. The storeroom/wardrobe space was in place by 1959 and included in the HABS drawings of the 1960s.

The glassed lānai has ten triple-hung wood sash windows. Each sash is glazed with eighteen or twenty-four lights. The center sash of the Waikīkī wall slides up to allow passage to the open lānai. It is larger than that seen on the adjacent balconies (eighteen lights per sash), with twenty-four lights per sash, a shift in scale perhaps indicating its dual purpose as both window and means of egress and its location on the transverse axis of the house.

8. Roof:

a. Shape and covering: The primary roof is hipped, topped by a flat area enclosed with a low parapet wall that perhaps was intended as a monitor. (Lore often attributes these features in coastal buildings as "widow walks" for the wives left behind, waiting and watching for their husbands' ships to return to port). A hatch opening from the attic provides access to the flat area, which currently contains mechanic equipment.[357] Recently redone, the roof is covered in shingles that read as wood from the ground.[358] The hipped roof was extended over the second-floor additions.

The roofs over the glassed and open lānais and over the porte-cochere covered by a single-ply membrane.[359] There is also a shed roof over kitchen entrance and latticed-storage area.

b. Cornice, eaves: Tucked under the wide eave, the cornice is an ornamental, dentiled feature added in the twentieth century along with Colonial Revival molded trim with cyma, or ogee in colonial-era parlance, curves. The flat roofs covering the glassed and open lānais have valleys running along the perimeter behind a low parapet wall to help drain water from the surface. The house has modern gutters, downspouts and splashblocks. For example, downspouts empty into ornamental shells serving as splashblocks at the foot of the porte-cochere.

c. Dormers, cupolas, towers: There are no dormers, cupolas, or towers cut into the roof or protruding up from it. The primary roof maintains its classical, double-pitched form.

C. Description of Interior

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[357] An aerial photograph shows the ventilation equipment on the square-shaped platform as well as a series of skylights. See "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan," fig. 3-67.

[358] The shingles are a synthetic composite. Katie Slocumb to Virginia B. Price, electronic communication, 8 January 2008; "Re-roof Patio and Mansion," L&M Architects, 1992, copy on file at Washington Place; "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan, Sec. 3-128. Original shingles were made from American long-leaf pine.

[359] The membrane is peeling back at the corners due to water drainage problems. Site visit, July 2007.

1. Floor plans: The original main block of the house follows a common room arrangement developed during the Georgian era around a center hall and extending two rooms deep to either side of that passage.[360] This double-pile floor plan was used, with variations, into the nineteenth century in neoclassical and Greek Revival-styled houses. The plan for Washington Place consists of a central hall running front-to-back, and intersected at its midpoint with a narrower cross hall thus forming four rooms of approximately equal size. The stair is set back from the entrance, located to the rear of the central hall, and rises along the ʻEwa wall. This room arrangement is seen in Tidewater as early as the third quarter of the eighteenth century, in Gunston Hall (1755-60) and Mount Airy (1748-58), for example, and the axial alignment taken to further extremes in Monticello and Homewood around 1800, wherein the public would be drawn forward through the hall into an entertaining space and the narrower cross hall was used for service and more private receptions, as well as providing access to bedchambers.

Presumably the Captain and Mary Dominis were familiar with houses built in the Greek Revival style in Boston, just as Isaac Hart likely remembered houses erected along classical lines and according to classically-prescribed proportions in New Bedford.[361] Of houses built at the same time as Washington Place, the Henry Taber House of 1846, and located in New Bedford, closely resembles Washington Place with its double pile, central hall plan and almost square footprint. The dwelling, also, is made of wood over granite foundations, and has an entrance marked by a porch with Corinthian columns, a paneled wood door flanked by sidelights and capped with an elliptical fanlight. It, too, was erected for a ship captain.[362] The Dominis family remained in contact with relatives, friends, and business associates in New England despite the move to Hawaiʻi; the similarities in buildings belonging to their peers in New Bedford, for example, to that of Washington Place speak to the on-going dialogue throughout the Anglo-American world about aesthetics and taste, essentially forging their understanding of a polite

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[360] An early observation of this planning phenomenon overtaking the Chesapeake was recorded by William Hugh Grove in his 1732 travel log; explanation of how and why this form evolved was posited by Mark Wenger in the 1980s. "Virginia in 1732: The Travel Journal of William Hugh Grove," edited by Gregory A. Stiverson and Patrick H. Butler, III, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 85, no. 1 (January 1977); Mark R. Wenger, "The Central Passage in Virginia: Evolution of an Eighteenth-Century Living Space," in *Perspectives of Vernacular Architecture* II, edited by Camille Wells (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986): 137-49.

[361] There are several Greek Revival, temple-front houses in New Bedford, Massachusetts, where the house-builder Isaac Hart was from, dating to the second quarter of the nineteenth century, such as the Joseph Grinell Mansion and the William R. Rodman House. Photographs of these are in the HABS collection. See Joseph Grinell Mansion, Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress (HABS No. MA-675); and William R. Rodman House, Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress (HABS No. MA-676).

[362] Harley McKee, Henry Taber House, Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress (HABS No. MA-677).

way of life regardless of location. Symbols of affluence, education, and status – as embodied in houses in the first quarter of the nineteenth century – sailed with the Captain and with Hart to Honolulu.[363]

In Washington Place today, flanking the central hall on the ʻEwa side are a reception room and the Queen's bedroom, while to the right or Waikīkī side are a series of parlors enfilade, opened up during the early twentieth-century reconstruction to accommodate larger gatherings for the governor.[364]

The second floor of the house, as rebuilt in the 1920s, is characterized by the large hall measuring about 13' x 28'. Five doors (D210, 220-223) open off of this hall into what were the private quarters of the governor's family. Bedrooms, with bathrooms, were along the Waikīkī and ʻEwa sides. To the makai, there are two large rooms linked by pocket doors. Glazed double doors (D201-205) open onto the lānais from these rooms. To the rear of the hall is a small step down into the former mauka lānai. This presently is a workspace for staff. Immediately across the now-enclosed rear lānai is the curatorial office; this space was originally a bedroom and bathroom suite and is built over the mauka wing. On the lānai to the Waikīkī side is the office of the governor's staff associated with Washington Place. This room was built as a family room in 1987, replacing the living quarters that were fashioned above the glassed lānai in 1959.[365] In this corridor, the former exterior siding and windows are visible as well as the Tuscan columns. The latter appear as engaged columns. Access to the roof is through a hatch in a closet in the makai- Waikīkī bedroom.

There is no interior access to the basement currently.[366] In the basement, a "strong room" or vault is shown in the 1946 construction drawings; these 1946 plans delineated a masonry structure, plastered with cement, built on a reinforced concrete slab. Overall measurements of the existing vault are approximately 9'6" x 11'8". It is made of coral stone and brick masonry; the coral stone is found at

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[363] That the Captain was an Italian immigrant to the greater Boston area likely made him more acutely aware of the signifiers of social and economic success in New England, and again, when establishing himself in Hawai'i Dominis consciously evoked those material testimonials in his dwelling.

[364] During the Queen's time, the cross hall was also used as living space, and at least one other room appears to have been added to the rear/Mauka. "Lili'uokalani in front room," Photograph ca. 1900, PP12, folder 7 Interior, Hawai'i State Archives. The 1914 Sanborn map also shows an addition off the Mauka-Waikīkī corner of the building. A glimpse into this space is offered the photograph.

[365] "Alterations and additions to the Second Floor," 22 October 1959, drawing no. 2 of 3. Copy on file at Washington Place.

[366] Construction documents record the building of the original cellar steps; by 1895 there was an internal stair leading to a brick cellar, a space reportedly used as a wine cellar by John Dominis. This stair likely descended from the kitchen that replaced the cookhouse, perhaps as early as 1866. The current steps date to 1921.

the corners, in columns that also are the primary support piers for the house above. The brick walls are laid in common bond and parged with a mixture of lime and coral based plaster and Portland-based cement plaster. The door, which dates to the late 1890s or early twentieth century, to the vault opens on the Waikīkī side. Inside the vault, there are wood beams within the masonry walls that contain cut nails. The Dominis family kept a wine cellar in the basement and it is possible the structure evolved from that brick masonry feature.[367] The location of the safe referred to in the construction accounts is unknown.

2. Stairways: There are two staircases in the house. The main stair is located in the central hall, set back beyond the cross hall and running up against the ʻEwa side of the passageway. The main stair is a dog-leg or half-turn stair with a closed stringer that rises to a platform or half-space landing that extends the width of the hallway. From the landing, the stair rises again to the second floor ending in a central hall. The balustrade terminates in a graceful, curving newel post at the first floor, with additional newels on the landing and second floor. There are three balusters per tread. The staircase is made of koa and Douglas fir and dates to the 1921-22 renovations. It replaced the original stair of similar configuration. The second-floor balustrade on the Waikīkī side was installed sometime after the construction of the mauka wing in 1929. The handrail and newel post are similar, but not identical, to the 1921-22 stair.

The secondary stair installed in 1987 steps down from what was the mauka-Waikīkī corner of the second-floor lānai to a landing and firedoor (D212). The stair requires a three-quarter turn for continued descent to the breakfast room below. The steps include winders and quarterspace landings at intervals. The treads measure 10" and risers 8". There are two balusters per tread supporting the wood handrail that terminates in a newel post.

2. Flooring: All of the flooring is tongue and groove, wood boards dating to the 1920s, including that found on the second-floor lānai. On that lānai and elsewhere on the second-floor, the wood used is Douglas fir. Oak is used on the first floor interior. A concrete floor is found on the first-floor lānai. The concrete, or cement-coating to resemble concrete, was installed in the 1920s. Elsewhere there is carpeting, such as on the main stair and in the hallways, as well as ornamental rugs in the museum rooms and in the State Dining Room. The breakfast room has wood flooring. The kitchen and pantry have a linoleum/vinyl floor covering. Upstairs, there is wall-to-wall carpeting in the office areas and a durable, indoor-outdoor carpet on the former mauka and Waikīkī lānais (back and side halls)

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[367] "Strong Room," 3 October 1946, approved by BFP, Department of Public Works. Copy on file at Washington Place. Also, site visit, April 2007; "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan," Sec. 3-113; "An Historical Residence," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (9 March 1895), 1; Corinne Chun Fujimoto and Kenneth Hays to Virginia B. Price, electronic communication, 8 January 2008. Construction accounts document the excavation of the original cellar.

connecting the core of the house to the office (over the glassed lānai) and curatorial suite (in the mauka wing, over the kitchen). In the upstairs bathrooms, the floors consist of hexagonal tiles. The public restroom off of the ʻEwa lānai is tiled; the ladies room floor is a wood laminate.

The basement has a brick paving throughout, except in the vault where the floor is made of concrete.

4. Wall and ceiling finish: The majority of the interior walls and ceilings in the house consist of plaster wallboard dating to the 1920s renovation. These have been painted or papered-over. A wood wainscot is found in the main stair, parlors, and music room. Coffered ceilings distinguish the State Dining Room and the glassed and open lānais. The State Dining Room also features a Greek-key cornice, built-in cabinets known historically as buffets.[368] The single door (D120) entry to the breakfast room from the back hall is paired with a false door to create a symmetrical balance with the double door (D119) entry to the State Dining Room. Its appearance dates to the 1950s renovation. The ceilings of the verandah consist of tongue and groove, wood strips. This is also true for the interior, mauka lānai on the first floor (now the back hall).

Upstairs, the bathroom walls have tile with wallpaper on wallboard above. The second-floor ʻEwa bathroom also has Greek Revival –like surrounds to the doors; the ceiling of the adjoining bedroom has center medallion and light fixture. The public restroom off of the first-floor ʻEwa lānai is painted and ornamented with a cornice and surbase whereas the anteroom has a simple wainscot.

5. Openings:

a. Doorways and doors: In the main block of the house, the French or double doors swing to the inside and are secured by a spike attached to the bottom rail and a clamp in a corresponding location in the wall. The reveals are splayed, and paneled below the surbase or chair rail, creating what appears as a continuous wainscot in the three downstairs museum rooms. In the restored Queen's Bedroom, the double doors (D105-107) are more noticeable for their Greek Revival architraves;[369] the reveals are splayed and paneled. Throughout the house there are a variety of wood paneled single and pocket doors. Doors opening off of the second-floor hall, for example, have five recessed panels. The door (D218)

[368] The buffet is defined as a "closet or cupboard for the storage of tablewares." Buffets are generally built-in, though some are free standing. They are found in public rooms, and are made for display. The contents are shown off through glazed doors or are placed on shelving fashioned in decorative shapes. Buffets were rare before the 1740s in Tidewater, but increasing prosperity sparked improvements in gentry housing and a "continued elaboration of table equipage" which contributed to the popularity of buffets as means of showing off those wares. Lounsbury, with Patrick, 51-52.

[369] The Greek revival architraves were installed in the 2002 restoration of the room.

from the upper hall to the back hall (enclosed lānai) is also paneled, with two above the lock rail and four below. Pocket doors were installed at the openings to the second-floor mauka wing; there is also a pocket door connecting the ʻEwa bedroom to the hallway leading to the space currently serving as the Curator's office.

The makai doors to the State Dining Room mimic the front door, each having reeded panels. Like the front door, they date to the 1950s renovation.[370] The doors in the mauka wall of the back hall, opening into the State Dining Room and breakfast room, are positioned below pediments; the Waikīkī doorway has one blind leaf. The doorway (D114) from the main hall into the back hall has sidelights – four to each – and likely is the original opening onto the rear lānai.[371] The door itself is glazed with twelve lights over the lock rail and has one recessed panel below. It matches the doors seen opening into the glassed lānai. The door (D118) in the back hall that connects the ladies room and elevator end of the old mauka lānai to the (earlier enclosed) portion running past the dining room and terminating at the sideboard is wood single door distinguished by four panels above the lock rail and one below. It too rests between sidelights.

Other primarily glazed portals include the door (D210) to the office over the glassed lānai, the single door (D213) to the secondary stair, the single door (D215) to the screened sleeping lānai as well as the sliding doors (D224) connecting the sleeping lānai to the adjacent bedroom.

There are also screen doors throughout as well as swing doors (D121-122) from the State Dining Room into the family dining room (breakfast room). Door surrounds generally are simple and exhibit a mix of hip-mitered and mitered corners, details generally enabling a sequencing of alterations. Due to the many adaptations and material replacements, the joinery yields little temporal data in this instance. Some Greek Revival-style detailing is present in the formal spaces as well as in one upstairs bathroom.

b. Windows: The window openings have unadorned architrave moldings and simple wood sills. In the second-floor mauka wing, a pair of simple brackets is affixed below each windowsill to provide some visual interest to the frame. Most of the windows have screens, some have curtains or hanging blinds.

In the second-floor back hall, there is a large window opening that once lit the main stairwell. It has screens on the mauka side, and a woven blind on the makai

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[370] "Alterations and additions," Ives and Hogan Architects, 1953, drawing nos. 4-12 of 12. Copy on file at Washington Place.

[371] The original opening would most likely have had a transom light, perhaps not of the fine detail of the front door fanlight but in keeping with the transoms over the ʻEwa and Waikīkī center doorways.

side. Cut into the mauka wall of the back hall are square and rectangular openings, glazed with one light apiece, for the bedrooms on the opposite side of the partition.

6. Decorative features and trim: Most of the decorative features date to 1950s renovations, such those seen in the State Dining Room with its Greek-key cornice, pilasters, and coffered ceiling. The Queen's bedroom has ornamental moldings, also Greek Revival-style in feel with reeding and bull-eye corner blocks, around the mauka and 'Ewa openings. The cornice of the parlors, music room, Queen's Bedroom, and hall is a 6" cove molding.

7. Hardware: Much of the hardware appears to date to the early twentieth century, including the clear and milk glass door knobs, metal kick plates, butt hinges, invisible or concealed hinges, sliding bolt locks, and hook and eye closures. There has been a mixture of modern key locks (Posswin, Sergeant, Baldwin) added to various doors, such as the basement door and the rest room door on the 'Ewa lānai. At one time there was a bolt into floor or doorsill to secure the double doors on the first floor; this feature has been removed. Still insitu, however, are the spike and clamp latches. There is a Rommer-manufactured hinge on the screen door that opens from the makai lānai into the upstairs hall (former Waikīkī lānai).

8. Mechanical equipment:

a. Heating, air conditioning, ventilation: The house is air-conditioned in places, such as in the State Dining Room and rooms on the second floor. There are also fans on the open or covered lānai.

b. Lighting: There are a variety of modern security lighting features around the perimeter and illuminating the open lānai, as well as globe lights under the ceiling of the front porch and porte-cochere. Metal sconces are affixed to the pillars around the perimeter of the open lānai; these have been painted. On the interior, there are recessed lights, overhead lights, chandeliers, table lamps, and floor lamps. The house was re-wired in 1921-22 renovations.[372]

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[372] Drawings for the house indicate that electrical work was done in conjunction with the various additions as well as for the installation of speakers, a generator, and alarm system among other changes. Dates for the electrical work include 1953, 1954, 1963, 1968, 1970, 1984, 1987, 1999, and 2002. No systematic upgrade to the wiring is apparent from the drawings, however, it is possible DAGS has electrical plans that were not made available to HABS since they were not architectural per se. A recent assessment of the systems in place for the first floor and in regard to use of the second floor as a museum notes that the requirements for museum lighting, air conditioning, and security would necessitate upgrades to the present system(s). Safety, accessibility, and regulatory codes would also have to be met. The assessment does not indicate when various features were added, looking instead at overall capacity. Douglas A. Buhr, PE, Douglas Engineering Pacific, Inc., "Draft Electrical Systems Report for Washington Place," Report 30 April 2008.

Also modern, but with an early twentieth-century vintage, are the cast iron lampposts (13) and lanterns (6) along the driveway.[373] Sometime after installation, the posts were painted white.

c. Plumbing: The house has interior plumbing. As early as the late nineteenth century, Queen Lili'uokalani added a bathroom.[374] As was the electrical system, the plumbing was redone in the early 1920s and the bathrooms upgraded at various times in the twentieth century to accommodate the families living in the house. The most recent changes include an accessible restroom opening from the 'Ewa lānai and the ladies room opening from the back hall between the Queen's bedroom and the State Dining Room. The bathroom adjacent to the makai-Waikīkī bedroom retains its original fixtures with the sink and bathtub dating to the 1920s renovation.

d. Other: The "personal service elevator" was added in 1949, according to drawings on file at Washington Place.[375] There are also doorbells, a sound system on the open lānai, and an alarm system. Three call buttons survive; they are located on the doorframe of the first-floor opening that connects the center hall to the back hall.

9. Original furnishings: As a boy trespassing on the property in search of an errant baseball, Governor Lawrence Judd notes that the lānai furnishings were "heavy

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[373] Plans called for octagonal cast iron lanterns with rippled moss glass, metal that was red-coated at the factory and given one coat of sprayed bronze and one coat of heavy transparent lacquer once at Washington Place. All of the brackets were to be made of galvanized iron. The six lanterns would rest on existing concrete piers, while the lampposts selected were No. 230 Symser Royer Co., of York, Pennsylvania. The posts were also to be cast iron and red-coated at the factory. Three coats of the selected lead-in oil paint, plus a forest green color added after installation. Rippled moss glass was again chosen, and "suitable" brass brackets for anchoring the posts. "Lighting System," drawn by EMP, May 1926, approved by L.H. Bigelow, Department of Public Works. Copy on file at Washington Place. The Hawaiian Electric Company received the contract; the lighting system costs were $4985. The system "consisted of ornamental lights on the entrance and exist [sic] fence posts and ornamental iron lamp posts placed at the most advantageous locations around the roadways. All the wires are underground and the lights are connected in groups which can be turned on from a cabinet located in the house." Day laborers built ornamental concrete gate posts and concrete curbing in-between said posts along Beretania Street as well as an addition to the kitchen and made repairs to the servants' quarters. *Report of the Superintendent of Public Works to the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii for the Year Ending 30 June 1926*, 8.

[374] The space suggested as her bathroom, in the cross hall, today was called a dressing room in the inventory; Bigelow wrote in the 1922 *Report of the Superintendent of Public Works* that the original part of the house lacked true plumbing, having only temporary fixtures. The Queen added bathrooms, but presumably they were located on the mauka lānai and in the rear addition. It is also possible that Mary Dominis added the bathrooms.

[375] "Personal Service Elevator," 9 September 1949, drawing nos. 1-2 of 2. Copy on file at Washington Place. The elevator was an emergency installation after Mrs. Stainback's accident. See "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan," Sec. 3-124.

tables and seats made of glowing koa wood" and that he stumbled across the Queen resting in a rattan seat called a peacock chair.[376] Presumably some of the furnishings Judd saw belonged to the Captain and Mary Dominis and were present in the house when Lili'uokalani married John O. Dominis in 1862;[377] it is from Lili'uokalani, however, that records of the household contents survive.[378] Several interior photographs featuring the Queen at home in Washington Place survive. An examination of them reveals some of the wallpapers, furnishings, and fixtures. From the Queen's receipts and letters, it is known that she wanted to spruce up Washington Place around 1910, when she was coming home again from Washington, D.C., to stay. She bought bedding and cushions and needlework materials, and paid to have seating furniture repaired and recovered, as well as the sideboard and bookcases restored. She also had electrical work done, as receipts from Hawaiian Electric and E.O. Hall record. Furniture receipts include those from Sun Lee Tai, Izuhara, J. Hopp & Co., and H or G Williams. The flagpole also received a new rope and paint at this time. In 1910, Lili'uokalani commissioned a series of photographs of Washington Place; while her intentions are not precisely clear, she could have done so to show an American audience that she lived as they did in their Anglo-American inspired, Greek-Revival houses implying that the cultural differences sensationalized in the press did not validate or legitimize the monarchy's overthrow or the seizure of her property.

A series of inventories were taken after Lili'uokalani's death in 1917 as the Trust moved to settle her estate and as the Territorial government assumed control over the property. To guard against theft, vandalism, and the curious but well-meaning trespasser, the estate administrator hired a watchman and had lighting installed in 1918. The Queen's estate was not closed until the mid-1920s, with legal bills submitted as late as April of 1924. When Charles McCarthy rented Washington Place in 1918, the lease included the "furniture, fixtures, goods and effects … now in, upon or about the premises." The Trust reserved one room in the basement for storage, although some bedsteads were in the cottage at the time. McCarthy acquiesced to the Trust's request for use of the basement room and "the small outhouse back of the kitchen" but wanted the Kaipo Cottage.[379]

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[376] *Lawrence M. Judd and Hawai'i*, 54-57.

[377] The house construction records show a payment for moving furniture as well as a bill for the making of two ebony "kulers" and a knife handle. Also there is reference to the repair of two sofas, a bookcase, the arm of a sofa, wardrobe, bedstead, chairs, and a bureau. Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841-47, Lili'uokalani Collection.

[378] Lili'uokalani Trust Records, Hawai'i State Archives (M-397, boxes 2 & 3, various folders).

[379] According to Kikuyo, Kaipo's Cottage was located where the tennis court is now. He occupied one-half, a garage the other. Kawakami, B4. McCarthy was a supporter of Queen Lili'uokalani and opposed to her removal, according to his obituary published in 1929. "Ex-Governor McCarthy of Hawai'i Dies," *New York Times* (27 November 1929), 20. This could be part of his motivation to lease the house and to purchase

The Governor's lease followed a claim by Sybil Dominis, the widow of the Queen's adopted son John Aimoku Dominis, for the furnishings in Washington Place and in Kealohilani, the Queen's Waikīkī residence.[380] The Queen's will bequeathed Aimoku the furnishings, specifically silverware marked Dominis or engraved with Mary Dominis's initials. Sybil Dominis was eventually allowed to take those articles she wanted; others purchased small mementoes, like pottery, from the estate in 1920 and 1921. Notes regarding this informal sale suggest the items were old and unappreciated, as in the "sundry junk in the stable" and an old mirror in the servants' bathroom. The Queen left certain family items to the Bishop Museum, some kāhili, leihulu, jewelry, and pictures notably, while the Trust gave various coats of arms from the verandah, a basket of seashells, and twenty-four kāhili specifically to Mrs. Lahihali Webb for the museum.[381]

In July of 1921 an auction was held by J.H. Fisher and Company. This included items taken from the house, from the lānai, from the office, and from the cottage. Rugs and mirrors of little monetary value were consigned to storage in the Coyne Furniture Co., Ltd., warehouse – articles they wanted removed in 1923 – and the koa grand piano was sent to Honolulu Music Co. McCarthy also purchased five upholstered chairs, one upholstered chair, one upholstered armchair, cut glassware, a koa sideboard and extension table, a koa folding chair, a koa chiffonier, fourteen cane bottom chairs, one plush rocker, three wicker arm chairs, two wicker rockers, one ice box, three large table cloths, and five small table cloths. He paid the estate $216. One of the Queen's trustees, Curtis P. Iaukea, also bought some miscellaneous items from the estate, including two chairs, a tea set, vases, an ornamental brass bell, and a round table among other small objects.

Because of the controversy surrounding the Queen's will, both the lawsuit initiated by Kūhiō and the forgeries,[382] the document had not yet been admitted to

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some of the furniture privately, rather than wait for the state's seizure. Announcements of his lease and residence at Washington Place include "Reception at the Queen's House," *Christian Science Monitor* (24 January 1919), 3; "Queen's House for a Governor," *Christian Science Monitor* (7 November 1918), 2; and "Hawai'i Wants Home of Former Queen," *Christian Science Monitor* (13 July 1918), 13.

[380] Lili'uokalani Trust Records, Hawai'i State Archives (M-397, box 3, folder: Dominis claims). The Judgement #8871 found for the plaintiff and Dominis received the property in April of 1921. The claim was for some $10,000 in damages, as restitution for the goods.

[381] In addition to the Trust records, see "Bequests to Museum for Hawaiian Queen," *Washington Post* (29 July 1923), 52. Webb's museum was also the Bishop.

[382] "Act on Ex-Queen's Estate: Speaker Holstein Appointed Administrator of What Lili'uokalani Left," *New York Times* (23 November 1917), 10; "Lili'uokalani's Wills," *Christian Science Monitor* (20 December 1917), 11; "Court Bars Will of Lili'uokalani," *Washington Post* (23 December 1917), 19; and "Fight Lili'uokalani's Will: Court Throws One Out on Grounds of Fraud," *New York Times* (23 December 1917), 21.

probate when Governor Farrington succeeded McCarthy. Farrington wanted to examine the furniture to determine what, if anything, the Territory should acquire; he also wanted to avoid bidding at public auction and hoped that the legislature would appropriate funds to purchase the koa piano, appraised at some $650 in 1922-23. Also at this time, the automobiles are sold as well as wire screens and a clock. The Queen's personal property, left in the hands of the Trustees, was appraised in December of 1923 for just over $12,000, decorations or foreign orders at $2000, the Hawaiian feather work for over $5000, household furniture and silverware at a mere $333.75, and miscellaneous items at around $1000. The monetary amount resulting from the appraisal taken for probate just topped $21,000. A sale of the Queen's jewelry was held at the Alexander Young Hotel in April of 1924, leaving a residual $15,000 plus for the Trustees once the estate was closed.[383]

Furnishings connected to the Queen have begun to be returned to the house, including the settee, and the center table in the parlor as well as the calabash sitting on it.[384]

D. Site

1.Historic landscape design: The gardens at Washington Place were a significant part of what made the dwelling a home to both Mary Dominis and later to her daughter-in-law, Lili'uokalani. The two women differed on how the flower gardens should be enjoyed on occasion, as the oft-recounted story of Mary Dominis chastising a young Lydia for cutting roses too soon evidences.[385] The flowers and trees also rendered the grounds more attractive, as visitors to Honolulu observed of the houses in the city that they encountered at various times throughout the nineteenth century, repeatedly commenting on the lush gardens and buildings nestled in park-like settings. Honolulu, however, was still a dusty plain when the Dominis family arrived in 1837. In a 1883 vignette, for example, Mary Dominis reportedly remembered there were "only seven trees in the whole valley, and how she herself began to make the very first garden … by preparing a tiny plot before the window of her own bare wooden house, and there attempting to strike some geranium cuttings – "[386] Mary Dominis was not only credited with

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[383] In addition to the Trust records, see "Lili'uokalani's Gems for Sale," *Los Angeles Times* (25 March 1924), 5.

[384] "New Washington Place Preserves Much of the Air of Distinction of the Old," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (23 April 1922), 10. This article mentions the koa settee and marquetry table.

[385] Allen, 105-06.

[386] "Perseverance Rewarded," *Friend* (August 1883), 68.

Honolulu's first garden, but also with the bringing the tradition of decorating Christmas trees during the holidays to the islands.[387]

An early rendering of the house shows the property delineated from the street by a tall hedge that gave way to gateposts on axis with the front door. A walkway, edged with small plants, extended from this gateway to the house proper. Later photographs reveal that the hedge had been replaced by pickets by 1899, and that a flagpole stood just to the Waikīkī side of the center gate. Granite posts form the property line along the Waikīkī side and rear;[388] these may have been joined with poles or wire running horizontally between them. The current wrought iron gates were installed in the twentieth-century and have been repaired various times.[389] The front lawn between the gate and the house is interrupted by only a Banyan tree, Pili nut tree, and Kukui tree, with ferns and birds of paradise closer to the house. A brick walk connects the center gate to the porte-cochere and an asphalt drive loops around, under the porte-cochere, linking the side gates on Beretania Street.[390]

Shortly after the Dominis family moved into the house on Beretania Street, Mary Dominis must have started gardening anew for in 1849 a boarder glowingly described the house as "situated in a beautiful grove adorned with every procurable variety of tropical trees, …"[391] Dominis had friends send her plant materials, such as camellias and roses, to augment her Honolulu garden; one faithful correspondent sought species from the Golden Gate nursery in the 1850s and carefully packaged them up for transport across the Pacific Ocean. Dominis was still gardening in 1870, as the order (and bill) for manure attests. Around the same time a former boarder sent her some plants, although the materials were not identified.[392]

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[387] Ariyoshi, 7, who cites the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (1 January 1862). Also, letter to Mary Dominis, 16 March 1864, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 9, folder 90). References to Mary's beautiful garden, to shade proffered by the fig trees, see letter to Mary Dominis, 5 September 1864, Lili'uokalani Collection, and L.S. Spencer to Mary Dominis, 3 November 1864, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 9, folder 91).

[388] The posts along the Waikīkī property line were moved and reused as the boundary crept eastward. Drawings calling for their reuse are dated to 1949. See note below.

[389] Historic photographs on file at Washington Place show damage to the gate in 1986 (a van drove through it); the gate damaged again in 1995.

[390] Oil painting, ca. 1850-55, copy on file at Washington Place; historic photographs, copies on file at Washington Place.

[391] Lee to Scott, 28 September 1849, reprint in Dunn, 74.

[392] Ann E. Newell, San Francisco, to Mary Dominis, 8 October 1856 and 31 July 1857; Colyu (?) to Dominis, 29 November 1870.

This exchange of flowers and plant materials arose not only from a feminine desire for the flora of home to recreate familiar settings but also from the long standing scientific interest in botany that flourished in the west during the eighteenth century, particularly during the Enlightenment era, and continued throughout the nineteenth century as new explorations took adventurers, cartographers, geographers, and botanists to places around the world, such as Hawai'i. In the eighteenth century botany also became commercial, with the exchange of plants done for monetary gain as well as educational value. For example, the King of England's Botanist for the American colonies, John Bartram, maintained a plant and seed business. Many of the affluent in British colonial America had orangeries, greenhouses, and nurseries along with their terraced gardens. These men traded species and cuttings with one another and with their trans-Atlantic contacts.[393]

In her diaries and letters, Queen Lili'uokalani intermittently references the garden and various plant materials such as her note about an excursion up to the valley for ferns in 1887.[394] The fragility of the ferns was a concern, for several years later she wrote that a bar was installed to protect the ferns. She also mentioned a pear tree in the back of the house.[395] She wanted a fence erected, or reinforced, between Washington Place and the school next door for the boys were trampling her plants. They filched her oranges and fruit as well.[396] One of the boys was Lawrence Judd, who later became a territorial governor and, as such, an occupant of Washington Place. On his mission to retrieve an errant baseball, Judd recalled sneaking past the first of three iron gates, the driveway, and the shrubbery near the lānai to reach the "park-like glade near the boundary fence." Banana, mango, and papaya trees edged the glade and the Queen herself was sitting there, in a rattan chair.[397]

In 1894, while living in confinement at Washington Place, Lili'uokalani wrote about sitting on the lānai watching the Provisional Government's soldiers go by. Despite the overthrow and the trying circumstances in which she found herself, the Queen stated her health was due to being "surrounded by everything that is

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[393] On Bartram, see "John Bartram House and Garden," Historic American Landscapes Survey, Library of Congress (HALS No. PA-1); on the exchange of plants and interest in gardening between men, Thomas Hallock, "Male Pleasure and the Genders of Eighteenth-Century Botanic Exchange: A Garden Tour," *William and Mary Quarterly* third series 62 (October 2005): 697-718.

[394] Lili'uokalani, Diary 1887.

[395] Lili'uokalani, Diary 1893.

[396] Lili'uokalani, 1418 15th Street, NW, DC, to J. O. Carter, 3 August 1899, Hui Hānai Collection.

[397] *Lawrence M. Judd and Hawai'i*, 54-57.

beautiful, the lovely foliage, the flowers in my flower garden and the birds that sing so sweetly all tend to make my life one of contentment." That year she tended to her garden, nurturing the beautiful, and commenting in her diary that she planted mulang trees in January, "laid out" violets in February, and planted oranges in August.[398] The gardens at Washington Place offered her solace, and she must have loved them for she opted to be photographed in the garden in several times.[399]

Attesting to Lili'uokalani's fondness for flowers, and the comfort she found in them, was the garden made for her late in 1894. At that time, Native Hawaiians and supporters of Queen Lili'uokalani gathered to plant a "royal flower garden" in honor of her and to show their affection as well as to show their loyalty in a way the Provisional Government would not find threatening, because they would not understand its significance, given the politics of the day. The royal flower garden, Uluhaimalama, was located on the Queen's land in Pauoa near Punchbowl Crater. The flowers and plants selected, however, were laden with meaning and the Royal Hawaiian band kicked off the ceremonies with a song called "Lili'uokalani." The Queen could not attend due to the restrictions instituted after the overthrow, so her nephew Prince David Kawānanakoa represented her. He planted a lehua tree from Mokaulele, near Hilo, in the center of the garden; encircling the lehua tree were 'ohā wai (lobelia, Clermontia) and other Hawaiian plants. Below the circle, Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole planted another lehua tree, this one for Kapi'olani the Queen Dowager. Afterwards, the garden was opened to all who came, and the grounds were filled with flowers.

The symbolic qualities of some of the flowers planted in the Queen's honor garden were published in *Ka Maka'ainana* on October 15th, and included those properties associated with the Tahitian Pandanus, the Kou tree, Kukui tree, young kava sapling, red sugarcane, white sugarcane, 'uhaloa, popolo, Hawaiian 'ape, pilimai sugarcane, and the Hawaiian banana. If the kou tree flourished in the garden, for example, the indigenous race would survive. The kukui tree represented God's light illuminating the Queen's domain. The growth of the kava sapling signified the prosperity of the Hawaiian people, the Queen's government and throne, growing through the goodness of God. Red sugarcane offered retribution on those who seek to "make mischief"("may [their] hands be burned by the justice of your rule"), and the Hawaiian 'ape was to "irritate the active, evil lips of the men and women who rebel against [her] goodness." On the other hand, it was hoped that her government would thrive as white sugarcane, and her government "be firm in the ground." The pilimai sugarcane solidified the love of her people, and their hope that the "goodness of your land, people, and throne also

[398] Lili'uokalani, Diary 1894; quotation from 7 June 1894.

[399] Copies of the photographs are on file at Washington Place. She was photographed under a Tamarind tree as well as sitting on the lānai.

cling fast…" Similarly, the ʻuhaloa reassured her that "they may seek to conquer your righteousness… but it is without end! …Should the ʻuhaloa grow, the magnitude of your virtuous reign will be immeasurable; the throne is for you and your heirs." The bananas corresponded to an ardent desire for the "fruitful[ness] of [her] kingdom, [her] people, and [her] throne, … bear[ing] fruit from the righteousness of the body and spirit."[400] Band-member Soloman Hiram offered a black rock; the rock was the spiritual food of the islands and, in the context of the garden, represented the band's refusal to take the oath to the new government foregoing payment and vowing to eat rocks if their reduced circumstances rendered it necessary.[401]

In addition to the band members and the Queen's nephews, Mrs. Kahalewai Cummins, Mrs. Aima Nawahi (lemon verbena), Mrs. Linahu Nowlein, Mrs. Mary Dickson (lady slippers), Mrs. Lilia Aholo, Mrs. Minerva Fernandez (sunflower), Mrs. Kaniu Lumaheihei, Mrs. T.B. Waka, Mrs. Evaline Wilson, Mrs. Nore, Rev. S. Kaʻili and his wife, Miss Eva Parker, Miss Helen Parker, Miss Lizzie Doiron (Mexican)[402], and Miss Hanaia Kanahele were there.[403] Yellow was a color of

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[400] "No Ka Mahiʻaiʻana, Māhele 6 (Agricultural Lore, part 6)," *Ka Hoʻoilina: Journal of Hawaiian Language Sources* (2006): 8-17.

[401] "No Ka Mahiʻaiʻana, Māhele 6 (Agricultural Lore, part 6)," 17.

[402] It is unclear if the Queen meant a Mexican flame vine or Mexican orange bush, or perhaps even the daphne mezereon.

[403] "No Ka Mahiʻaiʻana, Māhele 6 (Agricultural Lore, part 6)," 17; List of Flowers for Uluhaimalama, Liliʻuokalani Collection, Hawaiʻi State Archives (M-93). The Queen's list (written partially in her hand) is more extensive than that reported in the paper. She recorded the plant names, and the person who brought them. Flowers included white awapuhi from Mrs. Ulumaheihei, carnations (Mrs. J.A. Cummins), China asters (Mrs. Hana Evans), chrysanthemums (Mrs. Kamaka Stillman), coreopsis, brown and yellow (Miss Lucy Peabody), calla lily (Mrs. Fanny Norrie), gardenia (Mrs. Carry Wilcox), lehua ohai (Mrs. Mary Auld), lehua kelemania (Mrs. Ellen Wright), magnolia+kumu (Mrs. Kuaihelani Campbell), mamo poni (Mrs. J.H. Brown), mamo melemele (Mrs. J.L. Kaulukou), marigold (Mrs. Malie Kahai), roses Montgomery (Mrs. James D. Crockett), pakalana kumu (Mrs. Lucy Nowlein), plumeria, elua ano (Mrs. Jessie Kaae), pansies (Mrs. Kahalelaukoa), roses, 4 kumu (Mrs. Rose Robertson), stephanotis, 2 kumu (Mrs. Panana Parker), sunflower (Mrs. Fernandez), scented geraniums (Mrs. Laura Mahelona), tuberose (Mrs. Jennie Clark), pikake keokeo (Mrs. Auhea), violets (Mrs. Lilia Aholo), waiohuli? (Miss Deborah Pahau), ylang-ylang (Mrs. Eveline Wilson), Striped bamboo (Mrs. Heleluhe), Hawaiian roses (4 kumu) (Her R.H. Princess Poomaikelani), oliandas [sic] oleander? (Mrs. Bush C.), lemon verbena (Mrs. Nawahi), everlasting (Miss S. Sheldon), roses white (Miss Ethel Whiting), creeping verbena (Mrs. Maipinepine), roses pink (Miss Maunakapu Whiting), Marshall Niel (Mrs. L. Ladd), ylang ylang, 2 kumu (Mrs. Mama Opeka), ylang ylang, 4 kumu (Mrs. P.P. Kanoa), ylang ylang, 4 kumu (Mrs. Harry Swinton), magnolia, 4 kumu (Miss May Cummins), carnations (Miss Kamae), plumelia [sic], 2 ano (Mrs. Kahakua-koi), violets (Mrs. Pukea Kahai), china asters (Mrs. Kaumaka Walker), chrysanthemums yellow (Miss Mary Leleo), mamo melemele (Mrs. Lokalia Holt), mamo poni (Mrs. Pohaialii Kaili), pink carnations (Mrs. Nailima Koli), lady slippers (Mrs. Mary Dickson), yellow awapuhi (Miss Hattie Davis), pink begonias (Mrs. Lizzie Lapona), uluwai (Mrs. Sarah Weed), wiohinu (Mrs. Kalai Richardson), ohe makalii (Mrs. Hanaia), kaluha (Mrs. Kaleikapu), awapuhi (Mrs. Kilikina Aylett), pikake melemele (Mrs. Kaiala Pauko), virgin lily (Mrs. Kuihelani), tuberose (Mrs. Kahiloopua), chrysanthemums red & white (Miss Mollie Bush), carnations (Mrs. Pamahoa), gardenias (Mrs. Emma de Fries), and white awapuhi (Miss Mary Buckle). The vines for

royalty and so many of the flowers in the garden, that these women and the Reverend brought, were yellow in hue.

In a more intimate gesture, Bernice Irwin recalled her excitement at the invitation to attend the Queen's first public appearance since January of 1893. She took her hoʻokupu (tribute) for Liliʻuokalani, a bunch of red carnations, and was pleased when the Queen elected to hold the simple, but symbolic, bouquet throughout the occasion.[404] The carnations signified coronation.

Late in life the Queen marveled at the many trees and flowers in the garden and in a short time discovered over fifty,[405] so she sat down "with pencil and paper" to note the various species. Inspired, she set out to classify the plant materials and elucidate their characteristics. The explanation was limited to the first tree, however.[406] She enumerated foreign trees, flowers, and "Hawaiian plants, trees, ferns, and shrubs that have properties in them that would act as purgative or can be used as poultices or as drugs."[407] The list begins with trees found at Washington Place:

Tamarind tree, India rubber, China bamboo, Tahitian bamboo … striped bamboo, Poinciana [sic] Regia, Poinciana yellow, Tahiti kamani, Hawaiian kamani, alligator pear, loquat, China orange, mandarin orange, common orange, Tahitian vi, yellow date, nut tree, prickly pine, Norfolk pine, iron wood tree, arbor vitae, mango, olive tree, Eugene plum, French plum, black plum, kiawe tree, monkey

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Uluhamalama included bleeding hearts (Mrs. A. Rosa), huapala, 2 kumu (Mrs. Hattie Townsend), honeysuckle (Mrs. Giovanni Long), stephanotis (Miss Hattie Hiram), Mexican, 2 kumu (Miss Lizzie Doiron), wild jasmine (Mrs. Mahai Robinson), Japanese, 2 kumu (Mrs. Mary McGuire), passion, 2 kumu (Mrs. Mary Alapai), friars bowels (Mrs. Kahaunu Meek), lilikoi (Mrs. Kealoha Hugo), pikake keokeo (Mrs. Domitilla Paiko) pikake keokeo (Mrs. Lepeka Haawinaaupo), carnations (Mrs. Jennie Miles), deep pink carnations (Mrs. Frank Harvey), pure white carnations (Miss Helen Lane), light pink carnations (Miss Rose Davidson), pure white carnations (Mrs. Mary Stillman), scarlet carnations (Mrs. T. Pualii Cummins), scarlet carnations (Miss Kepe Kapono), pure white carnations (Mrs. Peliikulani Auld), striped carnations (Mrs. Kahuakai), striped carnations (Mrs. Lahapa), pink carnations (Mrs. Edmond Hart), yellow carnations (Mrs. J.R. Lucas), china asters (Mrs. Kaik..oa Ulukou), heliotrope (Kanoe), carnations (Mrs. Annie), violets (Mrs. J.O. Bush), violets (Kahae Kalehua), violets (Aumoe?), gardenia (Milaina?), lehua kalehua (Kaluia?), begonia (Kaia Kealohapauole).

[404] Bernice Piilani Irwin, I *Knew Queen Liliʻuokalani* (1960; reprint, Honolulu: First People's Productions, 1998), 68-69.

[405] She began her list by noting she found "fifty-four different kinds of trees and immediately wrote them down."

[406] This was the Tamarind tree. Liliʻuokalani describes its appearance, strength of wood, blossoms, taste (sour), and making of a drink.

[407] Names of Trees at Washington Place, Liliʻuokalani Collection, Hawaiʻi State Archives (M-93, box 3, folder 22).

pod, pomegranate, magnolia, pomaria [sic], hibiscus, crotons in varieties, crape [sic] myrtle, royal palm, sago palm, wine palm, fan palm, sugar palm, thorny palm, pink ohai, Tahitian chestnut, rosewood tree, yellow plum, sapota pear, oleander three varieties white, yellow, pink, guava, waiawi, ylang ylang, Spanish dagger, traveler's tree, red la-i, floribunda, striped cactus, gray cactus, papaya, banana – six varieties, nioi – three varieties, sugar cane three varieties, lime tree, acacia, giant ginger, Tahitian ginger, custard apple, pine four varieties.

And the flowers identified were: Yellow ginger, white lily, Dominis lily, brown spider lily, white spider lily, white star lily, daylily, pink and white amaryllis, colios [sic][408], purple alamanda[409] [sic], curse of Peru, jasmine, white begonia, red begonia, light pink begonia, fuchsia begonia, double red geranium, gardenia, single pink geranium, single red geranium, single magenta geranium, petunia, fuchsia, French honeysuckle, chrysanthemums, blue phlox, violets, monthly rose, Montgomery rose, polyanthus rose, pink rose, lavender bush, hydrangea, Eugenie, plumbago red & blue vines, yellow blossom, pumpkin, vanilla, wild Jessamine [sic][410], large alamanda [sic], purple alamanda [sic], begonia vinesta [sic][411], bougainvillea, asparagus vine, and grape.

The Hawaiian plants and ferns that were included in the list are as follows: Ohia ai – fruit, Ohia Kumakua – tall tree, Lehua – only blossoms, Ahihi – species of the same, Ohelo kau laau, Lama, Kopiko, Mokihana, Aalii, Koolau, Noni, Koa, O-he, Kuikui, Maile, Ieie, Awahiwa, Awahiwa Nioi, Maia eleele, Maia Moa, Maia Apala, Maia Leele, Maia Mahaiula, Lai, Olana, Awapuhi, Alaalawainui, Wawae iole, Kamakahala, Maunaloa, Hala, Pulu hapuu, Pulu Amau, Pulu Ii, Palai lau nui, Palai lau lii, Pala-a, Kupukupu, Ekaha, Iwahuluhulai, Punana manu, Hoio, Hikawaio, Palai kahawai, Palai haole, … haole, Maile Tahiti, Pai…, Wauke, Mamaki, Halapepe, Ohawai, Pala, Laukahi, Moa, Ahuawa, Ape eleele, Ape Keokeo, Lilu, Kamani.

Outbuildings on the property in 1916 included a cottage, with washhouse, behind the house; a stable/carriage building with servants' quarters; and a garage/servants' quarters building that Kaipo occupied. Separate eating spaces were provided for the Native Hawaiian and Japanese staff. There was also an arbor.[412] After the Queen's death, the inventory accounted for the Lili'uokalani Trust building, a rear building, a shed in back of the main building, a garage, a

[408] Probably coleus.

[409] Most likely she meant allamanda, an evergreen climber. Some varieties tolerate north-facing walls.

[410] Jasminum or jasmine.

[411] Probably begonia venosa.

[412] Kawakami, B1-B3.

carriage shed, and stables. Service spaces mentioned by Charles McCarthy during negotiations for the his lease in 1918 were the basement (as storage), the Kaipo cottage, and the "small out house back of the kitchen."[413] In the 1921-22 remodeling of Washington Place by the Department of Public Works for the governors, the "former guest cottage [became] a servants' cottage and laundry, …the old building formerly occupied as offices by the Lili'uokalani Trust and a small outbuilding used as a storeroom were sold at public auction and removed from the grounds." Fences were rebuilt and a lightening system for the yard installed.[414]

During the governors' period of occupancy, immediate changes to the landscaping and to the outbuildings and features in it were effected.[415] The additions that overlaid the historic landscape close to the house were the porte-cochere and the glassed lānai with its attached terrace. Other features included the monument to Queen Lili'uokalani, memorializing her through the words of her song *Aloha 'Oe*, placed on the grounds in 1929. A bronze tablet with the words and score of *Aloha 'Oe* was affixed to a stone from Ka'imukī. The tablet was designed by Kate Harland Kelley, molded of Italian wax and cast by Gorham. Funds for the memorial were raised by the Hawaiians, the Queen's beloved people, and the memorial was intended to symbolize Hawaiian "hospitality and kindliness" as well as the spirit of goodwill embodied by the Queen.[416]

Also in 1929 various recommendations for landscaping were made to the governor's office. Governor Judd was urged to retain the borders on the walkway, to leave the ferns and ti leaves in front, to keep the trellis with the allamander as well as the Christmas berry hedge. The corner of Miller and Beretania streets was graded and edged with 180 varieties of hibiscus, duranta, elephant grass, and five coconut trees. Along Beretania Street there were coffee, ti, 'ape, laua'e ferns, Bostonian ferns, crotons, and spider lilies; ti leaves and Christmas berry lined the

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[413] Inventory, Lili'uokalani Trust Records, Hawai'i State Archives (M-397, box 3, folder: Estate, Temporary Administrator); *By Royal Command: The Official Life and Reminiscences of Colonel Curtis Pi'ehu Iaukea and Lorna Kahilpuaokalani Iaukea Watson* , edited by Nikaus R. Scheizer (Honolulu: Hui Hānai, 1988), 216; Charles J. McCarthy to H.L. Holstein, 24 December 1918, Charles J. McCarthy 1918-22 Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (Gov 5-8).

[414] *Report of the Superintendent of Public Works …1922*, 22.

[415] Outbuildings shown on drawings dated in the year 1926 were a building for the yardman, chauffeur, and laundry, as well as garages, servants' quarters, fern house, and arbor. By 1953, drawings locate the tennis courts, garage, greenhouse, servants' quarters, laundry, and kennel.

[416] "'Aloha 'Oe' Memorialized," *Paradise of the Pacific* (October 1929), 9-10. The memorial cost of $1500 was raised by donations in one-dollar increments from the Hawaiians. Also, "Queen Lili'uokalani to Have a Memorial," *New York Times* (27 January 1929), E2. Here the monument was described as a block of lava with the notes of the melody inscribed as a perpetual reminder of the "royal composer and the island kingdom she loved."

ewa side while oleander, sugar cane, ti leaves, palapalai ferns, hibiscus, and begonias graced the rear.[417]

The following year, Catherine Jones Richards and Robert Oliver Thompson redesigned the landscape of Washington Place for Governor Judd. They chose native, tropical plant material. Memos with the governor's staff referred to magnolia shipped from Hilo and 120 coral hibiscus cuttings started at the government nursery; presumably these found their way into the garden. The landscaping efforts at Washington Place, including the brick garden, tennis courts, arbor, sprinkler system, and proposed two new cottages to replace the "dilapidated" ones were part of a larger beautification project around the Capitol. The ambitious program intended to have the Capitol landscaping "superior" to that found at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel.[418]

The plans for the grounds at Washington Place that were drawn in the 1930s were more elaborate than what was installed, however. In addition to the brick terrace area, covered walk, arbor and Banyan tree were Spanish, Chinese, English, and Hawaiian garden areas. These were not planted. A simpler layout prevailed, with shrubbery by the road for privacy, an open lawn to accommodate gatherings, the three mu-ylang trees known to have been planted by the Queen left insitu, a brick terrace, featuring the Chinese bowl known to have belonged to the Queen, extending outward from the glassed lānai, and Micronesian lilies known to have been a favorite of Lili'uokalani's lining the driveway.[419] The Chinese bowl was uncovered in the yard and, today, is displayed in a brick setting near the Waikīkī boundary of the grounds; its origins remain a mystery.[420]

After Governor Ingram Stainback was inaugurated at Washington Place in 1942, against a background of bamboo, white and yellow plumeria, yellow daylilies, and banked greenery, plans soon were underway to widen Beretania Street. This jeopardized some of the trees at Washington Place, but in the end all but one Tamarind remained. The Tamarind was sacrificed so that the fence and entrance

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[417] Lawrence Judd 1929-34 Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (Gov. 7-14).

[418] Lawrence Judd 1929-34 Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (Gov. 7-14). The improvements to the capitol grounds were carried out by prison laborers. They were working at the Capitol, the War Memorial, and at Washington Place in the area just acquired from the gas company. *Report of the Superintendent of Public Works to the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii for the Year Ending 30 June 1931*, 19; *Report of the Superintendent of Public Works to the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii for the Year Ending 30 June 1932*, 19; *Report of the Superintendent of Public Works to the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii for the Year Ending 30 June 1933*, 18; *Report of the Superintendent of Public Works to the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii for the Year Ending 30 June 1934*, 23.

[419] Lawrence Judd 1929-34 Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (Gov. 7-14). There was also a reference to a brick court replacing a parking area on the 'Ewa side of the house.

[420] It is shown in a photograph from the Queen's period.

gate could be moved. Initial plans called for the removal of trees and fencing and the relocation of the *Aloha 'Oe* memorial to the rear of the kamani tree. The fence was to be reconstructed along the new street front. Before work commenced, the Public Works Office wanted a landscape plan for the entire site, including the properties on Miller Street whose purchase was under negotiation.[421] The street widening of 1944 was not the last of the changes to the fencing, however. Four years later the barbed wire hangover of the war was finally taken down from around the perimeter of Washington Place; a 4' wrought iron fence was to be erected in its stead by the company Home Welding Cox. The cost was bid at just over $3600.[422]

In 1949, with the construction of the new service building, contracts for clearing the area of concrete foundations and trees as well as installing new curbs went to E.E. Black, Ltd., the company working on the adjacent Welfare Building. Islands Welding Supply was awarded the job of completing the fencing around the property, using the same kind of ornamental fence as seen elsewhere at Washington Place.[423]

The landscape received another overhaul as part of the 1963 improvements to the property. While termites endangered the wood structure of the house, water seeping upward from the coral stone foundations also impaired the building. The conditions of the grounds were not as dire, but the greenery along the fence was thinned out and the tree ferns replaced.[424]

2. Outbuildings: Washington Place retains a number of support structures on the grounds in addition to the contemporary dwelling erected for the Governor's use in 2002. This house is private. Architectural features borrowed from Washington Place include a hipped roof, porte-cochere, wrap-around porch, double doors, and squared columns. It has a predominantly horizontal massing, however, and is set

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[421] "New Governor Takes Oath at Historic Mansion," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (24 August 1942), 1-5; "Washington Place Trees Are Spared in Road Widening," *Honolulu Advertiser* (15 July 1944), 2; "About the Beretania Street Trees," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (27 February 1941), 8; B.F. Rush, Superintendent of Public Works, to Hon. Ingram M. Stainback, 23 March 1944 and B.F. Rush, Superintendent of Public Works, to H.T. Firebee, memo 3 May 1944, Stainback Collection. A drawing by the Bureau of Plans for the street widening project shows the Tamarind tree slated for removal and the kamani tree to remain insitu.

[422] "Wire Fence around Washington Place Ordered Removed," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (12 May 1948), 19.

[423] R.M. Belt, Superintendent of Public Works, to Governor Stainback, 9 June 1949, Ingram M. Stainback 1942-51 Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (Gov 9-38). The correspondence stated that local nurseries would be solicited once the garage was finished. At least one nearby house was demolished to make room for the new structure.

[424] Helen de Haven, "Historic Washington Place Gets Face Lifting," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (15 May 1963), 19. de Haven also reported that there was a new sprinkler system. It is unclear if this was new altogether (meaning there was not one installed during the Judd administration) or a system upgrade.

away from Washington Place, towards the mountains, just beyond the Miller Street entrance.

The support structures or outbuildings include a garage (1940s),[425] a storage building (1992), a laundry building (1924),[426] and a tennis court (1929).[427] The garage, storage shed, and laundry buildings are all utilitarian in appearance and one-story in height. The garage and laundry are composed of concrete, while the garage and storage sheds are further finished with concrete stucco. The laundry is illuminated by a clerestory-like run of jalousie windows and has one centrally located, metal door opening from the 'Ewa side. It stands on a concrete slab foundation and is covered by shed roof.[428] The storage shed is capped by a gable roof. The garage has a flat roof tucked behind the parapet. This building replaces an earlier structure referred to as a garage and, alternatively, as servants quarters. The makai side of the building is now a security office. The accompanying gas pump has been removed.[429]

The tennis court is located at the very rear of the property and is enclosed by a chain link fence.[430] A covered patio, or lānai, with brick paving runs along the makai side of the court. Towards the mountains, to the 'Ewa corner, is a gate that opens to the adjoining property, St. Andrew's Priory, a school attached to the

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[425] "Cottage and Garage to be Built at Washington Place," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (6 May 1949), 5. The garage was to be made of concrete and made large enough to accommodate three or four cars; the cottage was to accommodate two servants' bedrooms. The construction engineer, William S. Pung, estimated the costs at about $18,000.

[426] Described in the *Report of the Superintendent*, the contract for the "new laundry" was awarded to William Makaehu; the cost was $2400. It was a one-story structure with "reinforced concrete walls and floor, a plastered ceiling, tar and gravel roof, and has a floor area of 15'x25'. In addition to the laundry, the building provides bathing and toilet facilities for the servants." *Report of the Superintendent of Public Works to the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii for the Year Ending 30 June 1924*, 9.

[427] The contract for the tennis courts was awarded to H.A.R. Austin and the cost came to $2800. The court "is a double one of regulation size 78' long 36' wide [...] constructed of asphalt macadam." *Report of the Superintendent of Public Works to the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii for the Year Ending 30 June 1930*, 15.

[428] "Plan, Laundry Building," March 1924, approved by L.H. Bigelow, Department of Public Works. Copy on file at Washington Place. The plans call for a concrete floor and a structural system composed of 6 x 8 columns reinforced with 4 ½" bars wrapped in a spiral shape with no. 12 gauge wire. The drawings show a hipped roof, whereas the present building has a shed roof. Inside there was the laundry, plus a shower, dressing room, and toilet. Currently the storage building is used for storage of the furnishings for the open or covered lānai.

[429] The gas pump is shown on the 1945 plan of the grounds and slated from removal in a 1949 drawing for the garage and servants quarters. Copies on file at Washington Place.

[430] "Tennis Courts," by B.F.R., n.d., approved by L.H. Bigelow, Department of Public Works. Copy on file at Washington Place.

Episcopal Cathedral. Granite posts from an early perimeter fence line survive here, similar to those along the Waikīkī side of the grounds.[431] In the mid-twentieth century there were dog kennels adjacent to the tennis court; these were removed by the mid 1970s.[432] The iron benches date from ca. 1930.[433]

PART III. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

A. Architectural drawings: Measured drawings of Washington Place are in the HABS collection in the Prints and Photographs Reading Room at the Library of Congress. These were done in the mid-to-late 1960s.

Drawings from the 1920s renovations are held at Washington Place. These primarily are from the Department of Public Works; L. H. Bigelow, signed off on them. There are eight (of nine) from the 1921 "repairs and additions" including plans and elevations and sections. Others, as assembled for Washington Place, are as follows: March 1924 – plan, laundry building; May 1926 – lighting system; July 1929 – Bedroom additions (3 of 3 drawings); August 1929 – ground plan; landscape plan by Catherine Jones Richards and Robert Oliver Thompson, also done 1929; October 1929 – servants quarters (2 of 2 drawings); N.d., -- tennis courts; April 1932 – sprinkler system; May 1932 – garden design, and July 1932 garden planting; N.d., -- front fence; September and October 1945 – plans of grounds; October 1943 – wrought iron gates; N.d., -- proposed landscape plan; September 1946 –second floor plan (5 of 5 drawings); October 1946 – strong room; April 194_ -- Ornamental iron fence; May 1949 – garage and servants quarters (5 of 5 drawings); June 1949 – Landscaping; August 1949 – Garage and servants quarters (2 of 2 drawings); September 1949 – Personal service elevator (2 of 2 drawings); May 1950 – Proposed gate on Miller Street, and August 1950 – alteration to main gate, Beretania Street side; March 1953 – existing layout; November 1953 – Alteration and additions, Washington Place, showing new covered terrace and exit path to front drive; June 1953 – alterations and additions, by Albert L. Ives (12 of 12 drawings); January 1954

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[431] These posts are referenced in a drawing from the 1940s for the "ornamental iron fence." There were seventeen noted posts along Miller Street and Miller Lane; also reused in the fencing were existing concrete piers on Beretania Street. Drawing copy on file at Washington Place. In 1854, David Gregg wrote in his diary of a visit to General Miller's residence, Little Britain, located east of Honolulu on the plain. Gregg noted that Miller was "now engaged in making wire fences with granite posts brought from China. These posts, some eight feet in length and six inches square, cost him $1.25 apiece delivered at the wharf... durable timber would be nearly or quite as expensive. The wire, about one-fourth of an inch in diameter, he obtained from England." The posts Gregg described seem similar to the fencing at Washington Place today, and to that seen in the historic photographs of the site. *The Diaries of David Lawrence Gregg*, 73-74.

[432] The kennels are noted in the 1949 plans for the service buildings and are gone by the time of the 1976 "repairs and repainting of the exterior" drawing that included the tennis courts, arbor, garage, laundry, and "cottage" or servants quarters. Copies on file at Washington Place.

[433] Site visit, April 2007; Corinne Chun Fujimoto to Virginia B. Price, April 2007.

– speaker system, Ives and Hogan; October 1959 – alterations and additions to the second floor (fire escape, 3 of 3 drawings); 1963 – restoration of Washington Place, kitchen area (15 of 15 drawings); 1964 – re-roofing, downspouts (3 of 3 drawings); 1965 – parking and rose garden (2 of 2 drawings); 1966 – modifications; n.d. -- plot plan; 1967 – portable canopy; December 1967 – trash can enclosure; N.d., -- service area enclosure; February 1968 – electrical renovation (2 of 2 drawings); July 1969 – repaving the driveways; June 1970 – additional lighting on the lānai; 197_ -- safety work: basement and crawl space, first and second floors; 1974 – renovations; 1976 – repair and repaint the exterior; 1977 – re-roof; 1980 – re-roof and drain repairs for the porte-cochere; 1984 – electrical/emergency generator; 1987 – electricity added to the basement; repair the cottage; weight room/garage; fire escape; 1988 – repaint the exterior; repave the driveway; renovations of the security office and linen closet; laundry building; 1992 – termite treatments; repair and repaint the fire escape; guard house on Miller Street; re-roof patio and mansion; 1996 – repaint exterior and carpentry repair; 1999 – accessibility; 2002 – replace the air conditioning; and 2000 – intrusion detection.

B. Early Views: Copies of historic photographs of Washington Place are available on-site; these include images held in the state archives and duplicated in the collections of the Bishop Museum. Copies of a couple of these were made and slipped into the HABS collection at the time of the initial photographic documentation of the house (interior, porch, yard, Emmert image). Similarly, a sampling was copied for the biographic file for the Queen held in the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress. The Smithsonian Institution has one post card view of the house.

C. Interviews: Although not interviewed formally, many conversations were had with Corinne Chun Fujimoto, the Curator of Washington Place; with Kenneth Hays, the author of the NHL nomination and co-author along with Mason Architects/Katie Slocumb, AIA, for the Architectural Conservation Plan. Mason Architects oversaw the 2002 restoration of the Queen's bedroom. They each offered insights into the history of Washington Place and of the Queen's times and I am grateful for their assistance and encouragement. I am also appreciative for the help from Bill Chapman and Spencer Leineweber.

D. Suggested Bibliography:

<u>Repositories</u>:

Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI

The Library at the Bishop's Museum has copies of the Queen's diaries for the years 1878, 1885, 1886, 1892, 1898, 1901, 1902, 1903, and 1906, as well as historic photographs of Washington Place, the Queen, and Honolulu generally. Diaries for the years 1901 to September of 1906 are written in code. Other

manuscript collections with materials relating to the Queen are the Hutchinson Family Papers, 1894-1935 (MS 144), the Albert Francis Judd Papers, 1903-1934 (MS 262), the Arthur Chambers Alexander Papers, 1883-1896 (MS 208), and the William Fessenden Allen Papers, 1831-1906 (MS 41).

Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu, HI

The archives holds the records of the Hawaiian government from the monarchy through to the present legislative session. Personal papers include those of the Queen, as well as the Lili'uokalani Trust, William Little Lee, Henri Berger, William Aldrich, Charles Reed Bishop, Jonah Kuhio Kalani'anaole (Prince Kūhiō or Prince Cupid), Henry Skinner, R.C.Wyllie, and the various governors of the territory. Some of the Queen's diaries are here as well. Copies of the Emmert lithographs are also stored here.

Huntington Library, San Marino, CA

The Huntington Library manuscripts division holdings include letters written by Lili'uokalani to William Lee (a Dominis cousin) mostly about the publication of her book. The letters were written while the Queen was in Washington, DC. In addition, there are four photographs of the royal family; these are located in the photographic archives of the rare book library. The Huntington Library also has the papers of Nathaniel Bright Emerson (1839-1915), a noted ethnographer and historian of Hawai'i in his day.

Public access to these materials is limited by the library's readership policies.

Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

The Library holds an array of secondary source material and reprints of nineteenth-century journals as well as maps of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands, official correspondence between Robert C. Wyllie and Anthony Ten Eyck (1848), the claim of Lili'uokalani after the monarchy's overthrow to the U.S. Congress, and various photographs. The manuscripts division has a variety of collections, including the letter from Robert Louis Stevenson to Lili'uokalani congratulating her on her ascension to the throne as well as the papers of James Buchanan and James Polk, which provide contextual insights into life in Hawai'i in the nineteenth century. These include the papers of Elisha Hunt Allen, Richard Armstrong (missionary), Thomas F. Bayard, George E. Belknap, Jared L. Elliott, Andrew F. Foote, Walter Q. Gresham, Mary Gribble diary (1886), Thomas J. Harris (logbook from the Peacock), Asher Hinds, John Leonard (whaling), Edward Moale, the Stevens Family, Walter Ralph Steiner (missionary at Lahaina), the Talbot diaries (1830s-67), and various documents relating to whaling (see, for example, the papers of John Leonard, Clark Morse, and N. Bryon Smith).

The reference to the Buchanan papers, made by Helena Allen in her book about the Queen, has not yet been confirmed, despite efforts by the manuscripts division to locate the allusive source.

National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC and College Park, MD.

In the Still Pictures reading room there are photographs of Hawai'i, mostly dating to the early twentieth century and mostly in military-related collections such as those of the Army Aerial Corps and the Office of the Chief Signal Officer. There are no specific pictures of Washington Place, however. Hawaiian images are also mixed with those of the Philippines and one such album has misidentified Princess Kaiulani as Lili'uokalani's daughter. Diplomatic records for the nineteenth century are in the public domain and available on microfilm. These include letters to and from the consul, plus a series of official correspondence from George Brown, and Anthony Ten Eyck. The records for the latter are inclusive, dating to Ten Eyck's appointment and running through his dismissal as the Commissioner. The petitions collected by the Hawaiian Patriotic League, Hui Aloha'aina, wherein both men (with Joseph Nawahi and James K. Kaulia as officers) and women (led primarily by Abigail Kuaihelani Campbell) recorded their objections to annexation (another, the Hui Kalai'aina, requested the restoration of the monarchy), can be found in RG 46, Records of the Senate. A sampling is available on microfilm. L.A. Thurston's attempt to discredit the petitions (numbering over 500) is included in the file. The petition and brief of counsel, the demurrer by the defendants, and the resulting decision in case number 30577, Lili'uokalani v. United States, in the Court of Claims are archived in RG 123 Records of the U.S. Court of Claims, General Jurisdiction Case Files, 1855-1939. Copies of documents filed in Congress are also available in the library.

Queen Lili'uokalani Childrens' Center, Honolulu, HI

Here there are letters primarily written by the Queen from 1898-1905 to Mr. J.O. Carter regarding the management of her business affairs, especially while she is away from the Islands and in Washington, D.C., during the Annexation debate and later to lobby for compensation for the loss of property. Some of these are duplicated in the Carter Collection at the Hawai'i State Archives.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

The archives of the American History Museum are closed for renovations to the building, but the reference librarians are available for inquiries and research appointments. In response to my questions about Queen Lili'uokalani's time in the city, and Americans in Hawai'i during the 1840s when the house was

constructed and when Ten Eyck named it, the reference staff found no materials in their holdings.[434] In the Underwood Collection of Glass Stereographs there are images of Honolulu but none identified as Washington Place. The National Anthropological Archives has one image of the house, a hand-colored post card by Edward H. Mitchell, described as showing the two story colonnaded house with a landscaped garden. A man in uniform is standing in front of the building.[435]

Washington Place, Honolulu, HI.

At Washington Place there are copies of various reports on the house and collection, DAGS drawings, transcriptions of some of the Queen's diaries, copies of papers relating to the Dominis family and to the Queen, two DVDs (one an oral history of those who remembered the Queen produced in the 1980s; the other, more recent, an introduction to the house by Video Biographics), and copies of historic photographs. In the curatorial library, copies of secondary source material and journals (periodicals as well as the nineteenth-century accounts of Hawai'i) are available.

Also, the journals of the Queen's hānai daughter Lydia are kept at the Kamehameha Center.

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[434] Christine Windheuser, NMAH Archives Center, to Virginia B. Price, electronic communication, June 2007.

[435] Cite as DOE Oceania: Amer Polynesia: Hawai'i: Post Card Collection 04918900.

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E. Likely Sources Not Yet Investigated

In Honolulu, more time needs to be spent at the Bishop Museum with the historic photographs (although many are copies of those at the State Archives and Washington Place has copies) as well as the diaries and personal papers referenced above. Similarly, journals belonging to the Queen's hānai daughter Lydia Aholo are on file at the Kamehameha Schools. The Pacific/Western reading room at the Hawaiian State Library likely has copious materials that would contribute to the contextual understanding of Washington Place. Time did not permit a closer study. Similarly, the Hawaiian Historical Society remains untapped for this report.

The Queen's accounts reveal she had an insurance policy on Washington Place; it might be helpful if this policy could be found, especially if it provided any detail about the structure and grounds. Also, "tracings" were prepared in 1920, as required by the court, and these might yield information about the site as well.

On the mainland, records in New Bedford, the Peabody Museum, and the Huntington Library should be more actively pursued. Similarly, a look into the papers of Richard Pettigrew, a Senator from South Dakota, should reveal correspondence with and conversations about Queen Lili'uokalani and the status of Hawai'i. Inquiries made to the Pettigrew Museum in Sioux Falls, SD, have not been answered to date. Other repositories with information relating to Pettigrew include the South Dakota Historical Society, Yale University Libraries (Frank Parsons Papers, 1888-1908), Nebraska State Historical Society (Helen Marie Anderson Papers, 1871-1966), and Augustana College (copies of Pettigrew Museum collection, correspondence in William H. Hare Papers, 1864-1909). These collections might have the June of 1898 letter, a piece of which survives in the Queen Lili'uokalani Children's Center Hui Hānai Collection, that begins "Hardly know where the US is drifting…" Also, the journal of Levi Chamberlain, the man who handled secular affairs such as construction for the American mission, holds the promise of valuable contextual information for the building of Washington Place.

F. Supplemental Material

<u>1826 Land Lease to Richard Charlton (Hawai'i State Archives)</u>

Know all mean by these presents that I Karaimoku do hereby give and assign unto Richard Charlton Esquire his Heirs Executors and assigns the [view?] of ground situated near the house commonly called Britannia extending from the back fence of my enclosure in a north easterly direction to the distance of three hundred and twenty yards and a front running in a south easterly direction for the length of one hundred and eighty yards to build on cultivate and improve as he the said Richard Charlton may think proper

and to have and to hold or to dispose of during the term of two hundred and ninety nine years from the date hereof free of all quit rents fees or Charges during the above term.

In witness whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name and set my seal at Oahu this 5th day of October in the year of our Lord 1826. Karaimoku. Witness: John J. King, Boke, Tian de Paula Marin

And it is hereby agreed on the part of the before said Richard Charlton that at the expiration of the aforesaid term that the said Land with all Houses Tenements Buildings and improvements to therein shall revert to the Sandwich Island Government without any int or charge on the same. Richard Charlton.

J.O. Dominis, Letter 13 August 1899 (Hawai'i State Archives)

To his Excellency L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior. The petition of J.O. Dominis respectfully represents that he is the owner and in possession of these certain premises situate on Beretania Street in the City of Honolulu and known as Washington Place. That the title to said premises is land upon Land Commission Awards No. 850 and No. 4888 and is a leasehold for the period of 299 years from the 5th day of October 1826 free of all rent as by said Award appear copies of which are hereto annexed … That [petitioner?] has caused said premises to be greatly improved and pays taxes thereon. That he is desirous of purchasing the reversionary interest of the Hawaiian Government, therein, and of obtaining a Royal Patent for the premises in said Award mentioned. Wherefore he prays that the interest of the Hawaiian Government may be commuted or sold as may be thought best for the interest of all concerned. Dated Honolulu August 13th 1889. J.O. Dominis by his attorney, Cecil Brown.

Petition of Lili'uokalani, 1905 (S. doc 66 (59-1) 4910).

The Vice President presented the following letter from Lili'uokalani, transmitting claim. December 12, 1905 – referred to the Committee on Claims and ordered to be printed.

Honolulu, Oahu, Hawai'i. Washington Place, November 27, 1905.

Sir: I have the honor to inclose [sic] herewith a copy of my petition and claim to Congress of the United States of America, and respectfully request your excellency's help. I pray you, therefore, and implore the providence of God to aid and guide you in the consideration of my petition and claim. I remain, very sincerely, yours, Lili'uokalani. His Excellency Charles W. Fairbanks, President of the Senate.

Hon. Charles W. Fairbanks, President of the Senate of the United States of America, greeting:

The undersigned, a Hawaiian by birth, and by virtue thereof a legalized subject of the United States of America, enjoying life under the protection of its flag and the Constitution and laws thereof, hereby respectfully petitions the honorable Congress of the United States of America, and prays that this petition and claim relative to her official

and personal status and legal rights whatsoever in the premises under the Constitution and laws may be examined and inquired into, scrutinized, adjusted, and finally settled according to the principles of common justice and equity, and by what ex-parte means those rights became involved.

That prior to January 17, 1893, a constitutional monarchy existed in the Hawaiian Islands; that Hawai'i was a free and independent sovereign States, recognized as such by all the enlightened powers of the world, especially so by the Government of the United States of America, for upwards of nearly three-quarters of a century, and that Hawai'i ever enjoyed the most cordial and friendly relations with those powers.

That upon said January 17, 1893, a few of the foreign influential citizens of Honolulu secretly got together and led others in a conspiracy to overthrow the constitutional government of Hawai'i, thereby committing acts of treason.

That they knew full well such overt acts were unconstitutional and contrary to the authority of the monarchial government of Hawai'i; but they had sought the aid of the American minister resident, John L. Stevens, to support them, who in turn made known the wishes of the conspirators to Capt. G.C. Wiltse, of the cruiser *Boston*, then stationed in the harbor of Honolulu, and ordered him to land her forces, which was obeyed.

(Annexed hereto is a true copy of the order to land the forces from Minster Stevens to Captain Wiltse.)

Once on shore the forces of the United States of America were marched to and immediately in front of the royal palace, where petitioner then resided, being opposite to the government building. At or a little prior to this time the government building was taken possession of by the conspirators, from whence a proclamation was read purporting to declare the establishment of a provisional government, whose vice-president made a demand upon petitioner's marshal and the members of her cabinet to deliver up the arms and ammunitions of war of the monarchial government, at the same time informing them that the provisional government had been recognized by the American minister resident of the United States of America, John L. Stevens. The petitioner was also called upon by the same person to surrender the reins of her government and to follow the orders of the Provisional Government.

Being in much fear and within sight of the American forces that were halted in front of the royal palace, it was made evident to petitioner and every one else that if a negative answer had been made at the time to his demand there would have been a bloody riot; and whereas the said American minister resident, John L. Stevens, had previously recognized, supported, and provided the provisional government with the forces and arms of the United States of America; therefore, in order to avoid spilling the blood of her loyal subjects, and owing to such aid being given the conspirators by said minister resident, petitioner acquiesced to his demands and gave up the reins of government, but only on condition then reserved that a protest be filed, and was filed, with the United

States Government against the acts of its minister resident, John L. Steven [sic]; and that accordingly such protest was approved by petitioner's cabinet on said January 17, 1893, and duly submitted to the administration in Washington, praying it to inquire by what authority petitioner was divested of her rights, and by what authority the aid of the American minister resident in Hawai'i was extended to the conspirators.

(Annexed hereto is a true copy of said protest.)

That from the time of the filing of petitioner's protest against the overthrow of the monarchial government on January 17, 1893, up to the filing of this petition, now nearly thirteen years, no adjustment of the rights herein mentioned has been made by the Government of the United States of America.

That petitioner being rightfully the reigning sovereign under the constitution and laws of the Hawaiian Islands, then an independent sovereignty, was in receipt of a large and lucrative annuity, besides which she was in receipt for her exclusive use of all and singular the rents accruing from the Crown lands by virtue of law and they formed no part of the Hawaiian Government revenues prior to said overthrow.

That from the time of said overthrow and up to the present time petitioner has been wholly deprived of the aforesaid income revenues; that she has suffered greatly in mind, body, and health, and in addition thereto her private estates has been and is reduced to poverty and want; that petitioner asks compensation for all the wrongs done ad for damages sustained.

That petitioner is advised, and therefore respectfully suggests the sum of $10,000,000 as a proper and reasonable amount in settlement for all the damages and losses sustained by her, and in consideration therefore [sic] she herby she solemnly agrees to and with the United States of America to relinquish her claims of whatsoever kind or nature.

That in consideration of the premises and in common with all other subjects of the Territory of Hawai'i the petitioner submits to the present form of government erected since the annexation of Hawai'i to the United States of America, and that petitioner has ever since been a loyal and obedient subject under the Constitution and laws of the same and under the constitution and laws of the Territory of Hawai'i.

Finally, relying upon such settlement as ought to be based upon the principles of right and justice she now submits her case to the Congress of the United States of America, trusting that it shall render equity, justice, and right in the premises with reasonable dispatch.

Petitioner comes now before your honorable body without the aid of an attorney-at-law for the reason that she is without means to pay for further legal advice or services, having already paid out large sums of money in that respect. (But it ought not to take a legal talent or mind to gain the attention of Your Excellency the President of the United States

or of the Congress of the United States of America.) Petitioner prays that it may please Your Excellency the President and the Congress of the United States of America to look favorably on this petition.

Very respectfully submitted. Dated at Honolulu, O'ahu, Territory of Hawai'i, this 27th day of November A.D., 1905. Lili'uokalani, Petitioner and Claimant.

United States Legation, Honolulu, January 16, 1893:

Sir: In view of the existing critical circumstances in Honolulu, including an inadequate force, I request you to land marines and sailors from the ship under your command for the protection of the United States legation and United States consulate and to secure the safety of American life and property. Very truly, yours, John L. Stevens, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States. Capt. G.C. Wiltse, Commander *USS Boston.*

Protest of Queen Lili'uokalani:

I, Lili'uokalani, by the grace of God and under the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the constitutional government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a provisional government of and for this Kingdom.

That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose minister plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused US troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the said provisional government.

Now, to avoid any collision of armed forces and perhaps the loss of life, I do, under this protest and impelled by said force, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

Done at Honolulu the 17th day of January, AD 1893. Lili'uokalani R. Samuel Parker, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Wm. H. Cornwell, Minister of Finance, John F. Colburn, Minister of the Interior, A.L. Peterson, Attorney-General.

G. Glossary

Acadians/Cajuns – a name referring to the people originally from Nova Scotia or Acadia, at one time known as the Maritime Provinces of Canada. These people were deported by the British in 1755 and, after a decade, began to arrive in Louisiana via the Mississippi River. Today they live in a triangular area bounded by Lafourche, Avoyelles, Calcasieu, and Cameron parishes. French settlers applied the term Acadia to Canadian Nova Scotia in the seventeenth century; but the name Arcadia was applied to the northern coast of

North America by Jean d'Ango (1481-1555) much earlier. Acadiana, on the other hand, is a typonym for that southern part of Louisiana settled by the Acadians and is today the epicenter of Cajun culture. The word Cajun is a "vernacular corruption" of the French, Acadian.[436]

Ahupua'a – land division of the traditional Hawaiian land tenure system, a self-sufficient portion of land, commonly a wedge-shaped, extending from the mountains to the sea, under the control of the chiefs and worked by the commoners. In traditional Hawai'i, the 'aina or land was not owned but held in trust. It was the akua or gods who owned the 'aina and the 'aina itself was regarded as an akua, or sacred.

Ali'i Nui – chief or chiefess; royalty. The 1840 Constitution was Hawai'i's first detailed constitution that established a House of Representatives allowing the people a voice in government; the House of Nobles included the King and high chiefs, ali'nui.

Calabash – serving dishes or bowls.

Creole architecture – at the broadest level, "Creole architecture is a nonindigenous, nativized tropical colonial architecture and its descendents." It encompasses any building form or type "historically derived from a synthesis of Western European and non-European architectural traditions in coastal West Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, Louisiana, and the Gulf and Tidewater coasts of the southern U.S." The specific interpretation of the term, that is the architecture following the floor plan developed in Spanish Hispanola with a core module surrounded by non-European peripheral ranges (galleries, loggias, cabinet rooms), is discussed in the text.[437]

'Ewa – a place name west of Honolulu, used as a directional term. In the environs of the city of Honolulu, this would mean to the west.

Hānai – adopted or foster child. The hānai tradition is an important Hawaiian cultural system.

Haole – foreigner; Caucasian.

Hulu – feather; also precious or esteemed, associated with the rarity of feathers from indigenous Hawaiian birds.

Kāhili – feather standard; a symbol of royalty, spiritual or divine power. Kāhili, as Hawaiian regalia were used in the presence of ali'i, in royal residences and carried in processions. Descriptions of events include references to kāhili being held over the heads of the royal family, of kāhili gently waving.

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[436] Edwards and Pecquet du Bellay de Verton, 1-2, 40-41. For a description of the Cajun house, see p. 42.

[437] Edwards and Pecquet du Bellay de Verton, 77-78. On Creoles as an ethnic descriptor, see pp. 76-77.

Kanaka – a person; a subject or helper/attendant; a native.

Kanaka maoli – indigenous Hawaiian.

Lei – garland or wreath of flowers, leaves, shells, ivory, feathers, given as a symbol of affection.

Leihulu – a feather lei traditionally worn by the ali'i or royalty; also a term of endearment for a beloved child or special person.

Māhele – land division of 1848 that completely transformed the traditional Hawaiian land system from one of communal tenure to private ownership following English Common Law that introduced land patents, surveys, and property titles. The traditional system engendered access to the land by all people, administered by the Chiefs and cultivated by the commoners. The new system of private ownership required both Chiefs and commoners to claim and hold private title to the land, a foreign concept in Polynesia.

Makai – a directional term meaning toward the sea.

Mauka – a directional term meaning toward the mountains.

Mele – a song, chant or poem.

Waikīkī – a directional term meaning towards Waikīkī. In Honolulu and environs, this means to the east toward Diamond Head, which is also used as a directional term.

PART IV. PROJECT INFORMATION

This project was sponsored by the Washington Place Foundation and supported by the State of Hawai'i and Office of the Governor, and the Heritage Documentation Programs division of the National Park Service, Richard O'Connor, Chief, in the spring and fall of 2007. Principals responsible for the recording effort include Catherine C. Lavoie, Acting Chief of the Historic American Buildings Survey, and Mark Schara, Senior Architect, HABS, for the National Park Service, and Corinne Chun Fujimoto, Curator, Washington Place. Field work was done by Paul Davidson, HABS Architect, Jason McNatt, HABS Architect, and Mark Schara. Large format photography was taken and produced by James Rosenthal, HABS Photographer. The report was written by Virginia B. Price, HABS Historian.

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School of Architecture, University of Hawai'i; William R. Chapman, Director, Graduate Certificate Program in Historic Preservation, University of Hawai'i; Jennifer Kittlaus, Research Librarian, George Washington's Mount Vernon Estate and Gardens; Jennie Rathbun, Houghton Library, Harvard University; David Kessler, Bancroft Library, University of California – Berkeley; Neil Proto, Partner, Schnader Attorneys at Law, Washington, DC; Jeffrey M. Flannery, Head, Reference & Reader Service Section, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

ADDENDUM TO:
WASHINGTON PLACE
(Governor's House)
320 South Beretania Street
Honolulu
Honolulu County
Hawaii

HABS HI-6
HI,2-HONLU,28-

FIELD RECORDS

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY
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U.S. Department of the Interior
1849 C Street NW
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